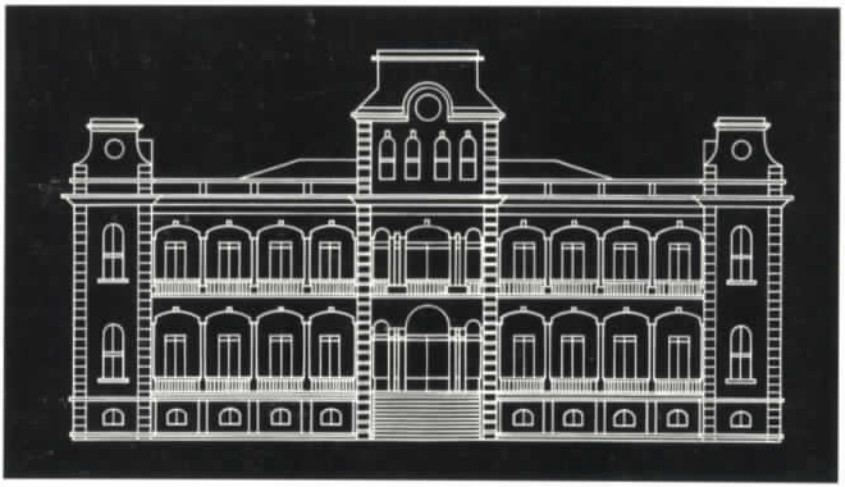

HAWAI'I

RETURN TO NATIONHOOD

IWGIA - DOCUMENT 75

Hawai'i

Return to Nationhood

Editors:
Ulla Hasager
Jonathan Friedman

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Copenhagen 1994

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To the memory of
Kawaipuna Paekukui Prejean

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'Iolani Palace, January 17, 1993. Photo: Ed Greevy.

Hawai'i Now

On January 17th 1993, a large demonstration took place in downtown Honolulu to commemorate the one hundreth anniversary of the overthrow of the last monarch, Queen Lili'uokalani, by the American plantation-missionary elite, with the help of the United States Marines. It is estimated that more than 16,000 people participated. The demonstration made news in many major American newspapers and even found its way to the pages of the prestigious British journal, *The Economist* (April 3-9, 1993:57). Many, listening to speeches calling for self-determination, were deeply moved, often to tears during this highly emotional commemoration of one hundred years of U.S. rule. A recent poll indicates that more than half of the Hawaiians want sovereignty for their people now!

This issue of IWGIA Documents Series represents the work of many of the Hawaiians who have been engaged in and are responsible for the re-establishment of a people who had practically disappeared from the face of the earth.

The story of the sordid destruction of Hawaiian society, by extremist calvinist missionaries, some of whom became the major plantation owners in the islands, who controlled the Hawaiian monarchy and induced them to privatize their lands leading to the eventual monopolization of the islands by a handfull of powerful landowners, is depicted in these pages in no uncertain terms. The decimation of the population by disease and depression, from a total of perhaps 800,000 or more to 40,000 by the mid-nineteenth century, the marginalization of Hawaiians in their own lands, the coup d'état and the annexation to the United States, the virtual prohibition of Hawaiian culture, from language and religion to music, is all an integral part of the history of these islands that has not been made available for a wider public. Hawai'i is a perfect example of cultural genocide painted over with the colors of paradise. This IWGIA Document hopes to correct that picture for the world, just as Hawaiians have been correcting the picture for themselves.

The change in the state of Hawaiian affairs began in the 70's although there is a much longer history of Hawaiian resistence to colonial power. It was in the 70's that a historically short-lived U.S. hegemony began to crumble, in the wake of a declining American economy, enormous capital exports, the emergence of new centers of economic growth and competition, and a serious political-military defeat in Vietnam. This was a period of sub-national movements and of student movements. The latter has faded, but the former have gained in strength throughout the 80's. Interna-

tional organizations and NGO's have proliferated, many of them with the expressed purpose of advancing the causes of Fourth World Peoples, others exploiting the new situation in various projects of buy-out and co-optation. In Hawai'i there have been powerful forces at work. Hawai'i is, after all, the hub of U.S. military operations in the Eastern Hemisphere and the largest atomic arsenal in the Pacific if not the world. It is also an enormous tourist attraction, with a ratio of tourists to local population of 6 to 1 and a ratio of tourists to Hawaiians on the order of 30 to 1. There is very big money involved in controlling Hawai'i as it is. Before it was essentially U.S., today mostly Japanese. The latter own most of the hotels and do most of the shopping. A significant portion of their capital is Yakuza money, invested in golfcourses that only they can afford. The Japanese love of golf has proven to be a serious ecological problem in places like Hawai'i where millions of gallons of water a day go to keeping greens fresh, while local farmers have increasingly lost their access to needed irrigation water.

Sovereignty has been catching on in a big way. Hawaiian organizations have been struggling to establish Hawaiians' control over their own

The Uhaele Group

There are some incredible forms of capital circulating in the Pacific at the service of potential new "nations". One of them, UHAELE, a Hawaiian branch of "The Hawaii Group LTD," a Nevada based corporation, attempted, quite successfully at first, to become the managers of $100 million transferred to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs as reparations to the Hawaiian people. They proposed to optimize the growth of the funds and take a 20% profit over and above all costs involved on all investments to be made. After the deal was made, it was discovered and became a public scandal. The lawyer for the group, one L.N. Nevels Jr. was once director of the Aurora Corporation which purchased, on credit, several islands in Vanuatu which it intended to sell off as shares to prospective citizens in what was planned as "an independent country called Aurora, with minimal government, maximum personal freedom and a laissez-faire government" (Nevels, n.d.). Needless to say the project ended in expulsion, but the small group of apparently capital poor pork barrel hunters have regrouped and are now into the "sovereignty business."

existence, and they have made significant headway. At the same time, the changing tide is already being channeled by the powers that be into state controlled organizations, such as the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, state and federally recognized official representative of the Hawaiian people, and who are attempting to become a government of the Hawaiians and the recipient of the enormous funds (upwards of $100 million) in reparations and back rents on Hawaiian lands that are not being returned to "the Hawaiian people." This year, the state legislature passed a law which grants the Governor power to establish a commission (SAC) that would conduct a plebiscite to determine whether or not a "constitutional convention" should be held. Its purpose would be to set up formal "native Hawaiian self-governance" that would be the core of a new Hawaiian nation-within-the-American-Nation by 1994. The new law, in spite of its explicit purpose, ensures continued state control of the so-called "New Hawaiian Nation" in order to maintain control of the confiscated lands and their revenue.

A number of independent groups and *'ohana* ("extended families") have been working increasingly closer together to try and develop a unified political program. The present publication is a documentation of the voices of some of the many Hawaiians and their friends, active in the effort to re-establish a Hawaiian society.

IWGIA has published over the years on developments in Hawai'i, with pieces by some of the contributors to the present document. This is the first full fledged attempt to present the Hawaiian situation to the international community. It covers both the history of Hawai'i, the general situation today and a number of case studies documenting but a few of the many struggles that are taking place. This Document is a tribute to the energy and dedication of a people who set an example for the rest of the world, who have taken themselves from a stigmatized limbo to a position where they have to be reckoned with and where, even among their former enemies an increasing respect is becoming evident.

Hawai'i in many ways represents the core of that which IWGIA has struggled to achieve, a people once repressed to virtual non-existence, now an example of concerted stuggle to re-establish a nation. This effort has consisted in the re-establishment of Hawaiian culture, language schools, the rehabilitation of the ancient temples and ceremonies, the forging of communities on the land, and most important the struggle to re-appropriate the Hawaiian land base itself. Hawaiians understand that the re-establishment of a Hawaiian way of life is dependent upon the regaining of the lands

that have been lost to the Territorial government, lands that were subsequently passed on to the state. The land is the core of Hawaiian identity today. It is the source of life and of a meaningful existence.

Dedication

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Kawaipuna Paekukui Prejean, who passed away, still in his prime, on the morning of his 49th birthday, April 14, 1992. His vitality, humor, clearness of vision and tireless and inspired life work shall not be forgotten.

He initiated this document, expecting it to become an important educational vehicle in the international arena where he carried on so much of his work for indigenous rights. From 1976 until his death, he carried on the tradition of the annual "Sovereign Sunday." He was a major spokesperson for Indigenous Hawaiians as well as for American Indians and indigenous peoples worldwide. He identified himself as a human rights activist. In 1991 he spoke of self-determination as follows:

"Self-determination is not just a wishful thought or some kind of pie in the sky. It is the cornerstone of what the United Nations was set up to do – to work and ensure that people have this right. [...] It is very important to remember that what we are talking about, as far as self-determination, does not mean some parcel of land that they are going to give us as far as charity. This is our inherent right to sovereignty, our inherent right to govern ourselves in a manner we choose without their interference."

Asked how the Hawaiians were to proceed in their struggle for self-determination, he answered:

"Take the chains off your brains, to get away from this kind of colonial mind set that was imposed on our people. Be strong for Hawai'i.

And be strong for Indigenous People around the world. We are concerned with all members of the human family – it was never Hawaiian style to leave anybody out. But at the same time to know that nature can only carry so many people here in the Hawaiian Islands.

Get back the control over our self-determination that again invalidates the state and all of these crimes that they continue to perpetuate against Hawaiians.

Share information – share facts – with especially the young and the old people, because that is the bridge. Many of our kupuna [ancestors] are

going to the spirit world without having this fulfillment of enjoying what is the inherent right, what is not gifts or charity by the invader – these rights are ours, because of our use and occupancy of these islands since time immemorial."

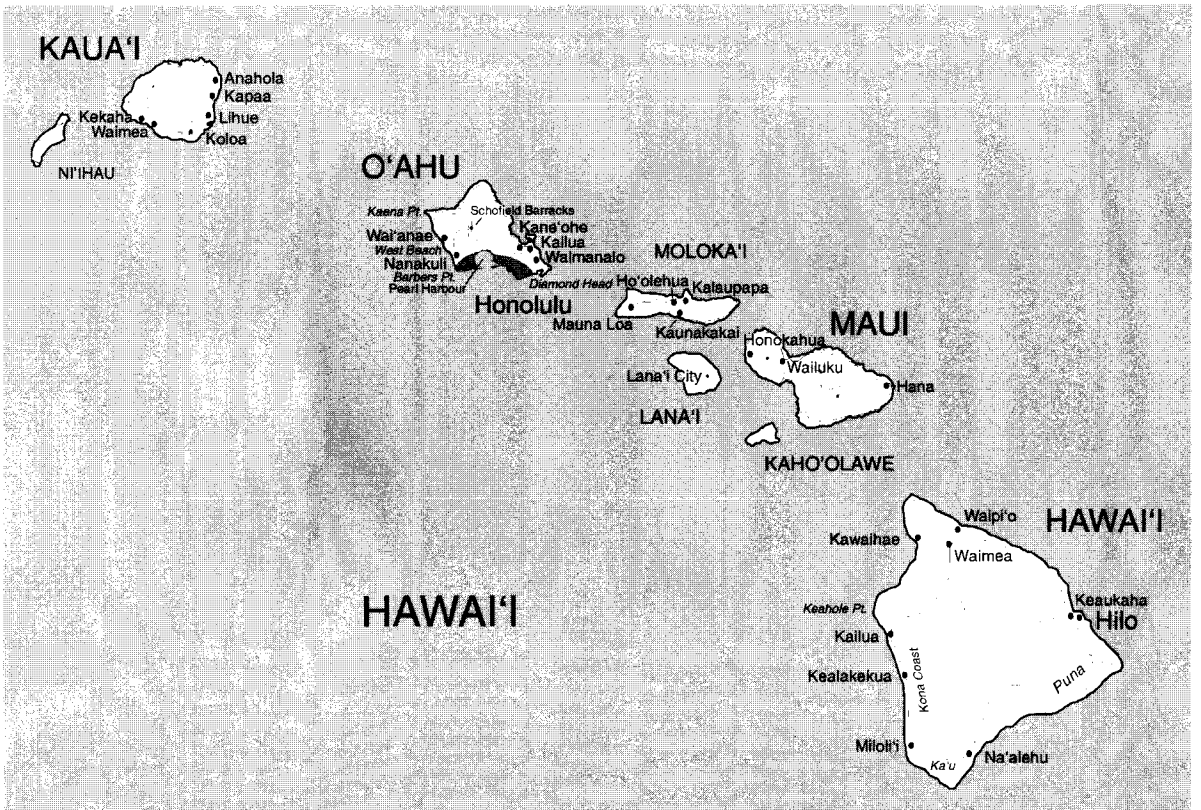
One of the ways that Kawaipuna Prejean envisioned to educate the world, to strengthen the network with other Indigenous peoples and to gain redress for the grievances of Indigenous Hawaiians was the initiation of Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli – The Peoples' International Tribunal – which convened in Hawai'i in August 1993, the 100th year of the invasion and overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, the United Nations Year for the World's Indigenous People, and the Decade of Decolonization. Most of the groups and organizations in Hawai'i working for indigenous rights cooperated in the organization of this tribunal, honoring the memory of Kawaipuna Prejean.

Acknowledgements

We take this opportunity to thank the authors, artists and all the participants from different organizations that helped us update material by sharing their knowledge. The series of poems and artwork of 'Īmaikalani Kalāhele comments upon and embellishes the text in this volume in a concise and beautiful way. Special thanks are due to Professor Noel Kent, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, for his work as consultant.

The staff of IWGIA in Copenhagen and Lund, Ethnic Studies Program, and Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, were of course indispensible in compiling this volume. Special thanks are due to the encouragement, support, hospitality, generosity and energy of Marion and John Kelly, without whom this volume would not have been possible. *Mahalo nui loa.*

The Editors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Waimanalo
Nanakuli
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Diamond Head
Pearl Harbour
Honolulu
MOLOKA'I
Ho'olehua
Kalaupapa
Mauna Loa
Kaunakakai
MAUI
Honokahua
Wailuku
Hana
Lana'i City
LANA'I
KAHO'OLAWE
HAWAI'I
Walpi'o
Kawaihae
Waimea
Keaukaha
Hilo
Keahole Pt.
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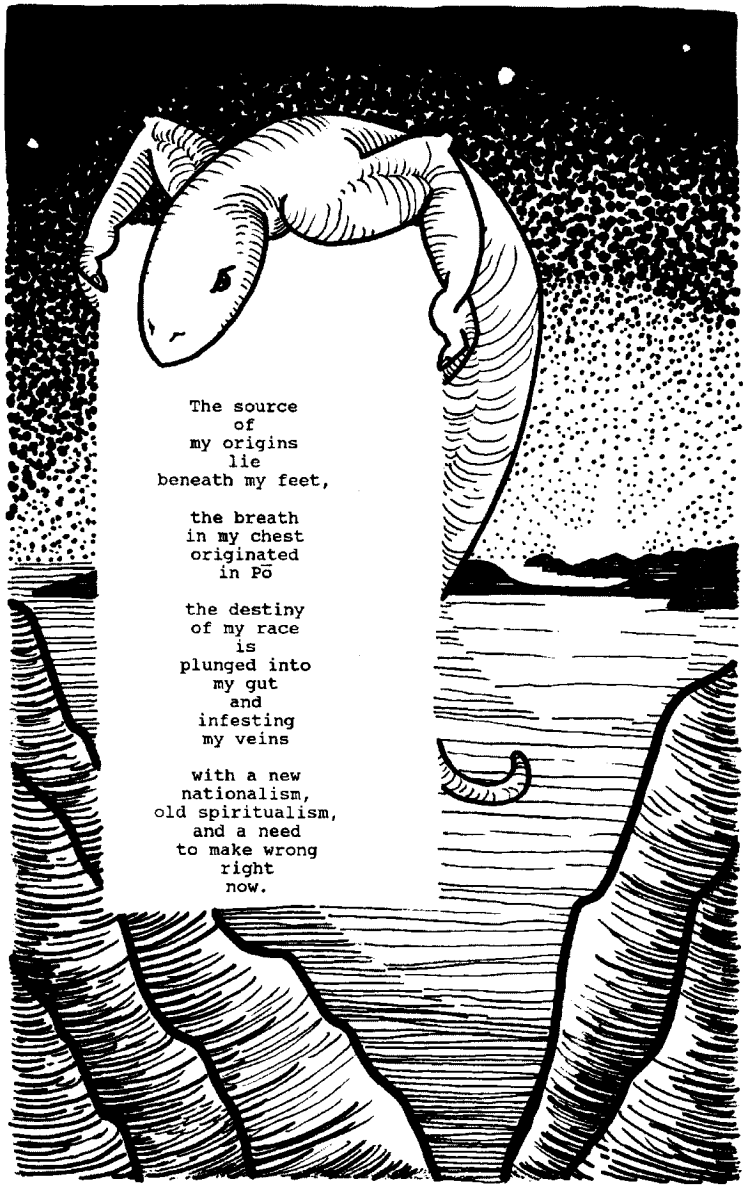
HAWAI'I

HAWAIIANS DEFINE THE SITUATION



The source
of
my origins
lie
beneath my feet,

the breath
in my chest
originated
in Pō

the destiny
of my race
is
plunged into
my gut
and
infesting
my veins

with a new
nationalism,
old spiritualism,
and a need
to make wrong
right
now.

Kūpa'a 'Āina

Native Hawaiian Nationalism in Hawai'i

By Haunani-Kay Trask

"I do not feel [...] we should forfeit the traditional rights and privileges of the natives of our islands for a mere thimbleful of votes in Congress; that we, the lovers of Hawai'i from long association with it should sacrifice our birthright for the greed of alien desires to remain on our shores."
Kamokila Campbell before Congress on statehood for Hawai'i, 1946

"Our country has been and is being plasticized, cheapened, and exploited. They're selling it in plastic leis, coconut ashtrays, and cans of "genuine, original Aloha." They've raped us, sold us, killed us, and still they expect us to "behave" [...] Hawai'i is a colony of the imperialist United States."
Kehau Lee on evictions of Hawaiians from Native lands, 1971

"The time has come to create a mechanism for self-government for the Hawaiian people. The question of Hawaiian sovereignty and self-determination needs to be dealt with now."
Mililani Trask before Congress on Hawaiian sovereignty, 1989

Spanning nearly fifty years, these statements by Native Hawaiians contradict the official celebrations which occurred in Hawai'i in 1989, marking the thirtieth anniversary of statehood as the bringer of prosperity and self-government to Hawai'i's Native people.[1] Today, glass and steel shopping malls with layered parking lots stretch over what were once the most ingeniously irrigated taro lands, lands that fed millions of Hawaiians over thousands of years. Large bays, delicately ringed long ago with well-stocked fishponds, are now heavily silted and cluttered with jet skis, windsurfers, and sailboats. Multi-story hotels disgorge over six million tourists a year onto stunningly beautiful (and easily polluted) beaches, closing off access to locals. On the major islands of Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu,and Kaua'i, meanwhile, military airfields, training camps, weapons storage facilities, and exclusive housing and beach areas remind the

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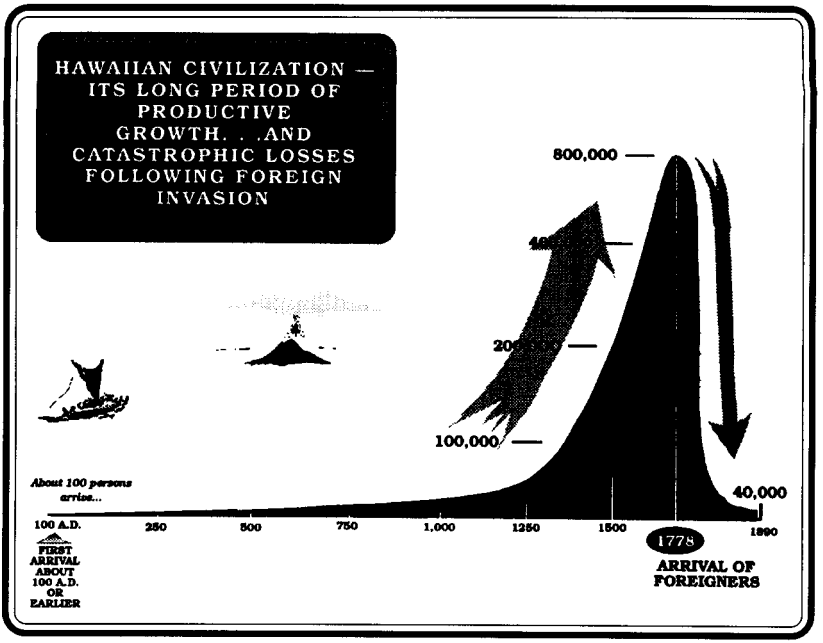
Native Hawaiian who owns Hawai'i – the foreign, colonial country called the United States of America.

But colonization has brought more than physical transformation to the lush and ancient islands of Hawai'i. Visible in garish "Polynesian" revues, commercial ads using Hawaiian dance and language to sell vacations and condominiums, and the trampling of sacred *heiau* (temples) and burial grounds as tourist recreation sites, a grotesque commercialization of everything Hawaiian has damaged Hawaiians psychologically, reducing their ability to control their lands and waters, their daily lives, and the expression and integrity of their culture. The cheapening of Hawaiian culture (e.g., the traditional value of *aloha* as reciprocal love and generosity now used to sell everything from cars and plumbing to securities and air conditioning) is so complete that non-Hawaiians, at the urging of the tourist industry and the politicians, are transformed into "Hawaiians at heart," a phrase that speaks worlds about how grotesque the theft of things Hawaiian has become. Economically, the statistic of thirty tourists for every Native means that land and water, public policy, law and the general political attitude are shaped by the ebb and flow of tourist industry demands. For Hawaiians, the inundation of foreigners decrees marginalization in their own land.[2]

The State of Hawai'i, meanwhile, pours millions into the tourist industry, even to the extent of funding a booster club – the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau whose TV and radio propaganda tell locals, "the more you give" to tourism, the "more you get."[3]

And what Hawaiians "get" is population densities like Hong Kong in some areas, a housing shortage owing to staggering numbers of migrants from the continental United States and Asia, and environmental crises, including water depletion, that threaten the entire archipelago. Rather than stem the flood, the state is projecting a tidal wave of 12 million tourists by the year 2010, and encouraging space facilities and battleship homeporting as added economic "security."[4]

For Hawaiians, this latest degradation is but another stage in the agony that began with the first footfall of European explorers in 1778, shattering two millennia of Hawaiian civilization characterized by an indigenous way of caring for the land (called *mālama 'āina*). Introduced diseases, from syphilis and tuberculosis to small pox, measles and leprosy, killed Hawaiians by the huntreds of thousands, reducing the Native population (estimated between 800,000 to 1 million at contact) by ninety-five percent in just over a hundred years.[5] Gunboat diplomacy by Western powers and missionary duplicity against the Hawaiian chiefs forced the transformation



Population and depopulation of the Hawaiian Islands. During about 100 generations, Kānaka maoli are estimated to have doubled every century to reach a population of 800,000 or more by 1778. Following the first thousand years, extensive dispersed coastal and inland settlements accomodated the rising population. Highly skilled water delivery pondfield irrigation systems were developed for kalo *(taro) and* loko *(fishponds) food production. Increasing division of labor, skills and land use characterized the later period of rapid population growth, increasing the social differentiation and control. In less than four generations after 1778, by 1890, 95% of our people were gone. We had lost nineteen* 'ohana *members for each one left alive. Graphics: Maka'āinana Media & Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i. Sources: Kelly 1986; Stannard 1989.*

of Hawaiian land tenure from communal use to private property by the middle of the nineteenth century. Called the Great Māhele, this dispossession of the Hawaiians' birthright – their ancestral *one hānau*, birthsands – allowed foreigners to own land. As the Hawaiian people continued to die off in multiple epidemics throughout the nineteenth century, the *haole* (White) foreigner bought up more land until, by 1888, three-quarters of all

the arable land was controlled by *haole*.[6] In this way, as one scholar has remarked, "Western imperialism had been accomplished without the usual bothersome wars and costly colonial administration."[7]

In the meantime, Protestant missionizing constantly attacked Native customs from the *hula* to Hawaiian sexual practices while individual missionaries acquired vast acreages of Hawaiian land. Finally, in 1893, the American military overthrew the constitutional Hawaiian government headed by Queen Lili'uokalani, with the familiar justification of "protecting American lives and property." Resistance by Hawaiians was crushed and an all-*haole* puppet government called the Republic of Hawai'i was put in place in 1894, with forced annexation to (and citizenship in) the United States following in 1898. The ruling planter's party, composed primarily of missionary descendants, governed Hawai'i as an oligarchy throughout the territorial era. Despite Native opposition, Hawai'i became a state in 1959.[8]

As a result of these actions, Hawaiians became a conquered people, their lands and culture subordinated to another nation. Made to feel and survive as inferiors when their sovereignty as a nation was forcibly ended by American military power, Hawaiians were rendered politically and economically powerless by the turn of the century. Today, Hawaiians continue to suffer the effects of American colonization even after the alleged democratization of statehood. Preyed upon by corporate tourism, caught in a political system where they have no separate legal status from which to control their land base (over a million acres of so-called "trust" lands set aside by Congress for Native beneficiaries but leased by their alleged "trustee," the State of Hawai'i, to non-Natives), Hawaiians have been reduced to twenty percent of the resident population in their own land.[9]

Despite the presence of a small middle class, Hawaiians as a people register the same profile as other indigenous groups controlled by the United States: high unemployment, catastrophic health problems, low educational attainment, large numbers institutionalized in the military and prisons, occupational ghettoization in poorly paid jobs, and increasing out-migration that amounts to diaspora.[10] The latest affliction of colonialism – corporate tourism – has meant a particularly insidious form of cultural prostitution. The *hula*, for example, has been made ornamental, a form of exotica for the gaping tourist. Far from encouraging a cultural revival, as tourist industry apologists contend, tourism has appropriated and prostituted the accomplishments of a resurgent interest in things Hawaiian (e.g., the current use of replicas of Hawaiian artifacts such as fishing and food

implements, capes, helmets, and other symbols of ancient power to decorate hotels). Hawaiian women, meanwhile, are marketed on posters from Paris to Tokyo promising an unfettered, "primitive" sexuality. Burdened with commodification of their culture and exploitation of their people, Hawaiians exist in an occupied country whose hostage people are forced to witness (and, for many, to participate in) their own collective humiliation as tourist artifacts for the First World.

An Awakening

Misery, however, has a surprising ability to call forth resistance. Out of land struggles in rural areas threatened with development was born a Native rights movement, similar to movements of other colonized Native peoples, such as the Tahitians and the Maori, in the Pacific. Beginning in 1970, the Hawaiian Movement evolved from a series of protests against land abuses, through various demonstrations and occupations to dramatize the exploitative conditions of Hawaiians, to assertions of Native forms of sovereignty based on indigenous birthrights to the land and sea.

As they organized to fight land development, Hawaiians also experienced a cultural flowering focused on Hawaiian language immersion preschools, traditional *hula* and religious practices, and the farming of taro, the Hawaiian staple which, in Hawaiian genealogy, is the *kua'ana* or elder sibling of the Hawaiian people. Indeed, never since the fateful coming of the *haole* had Hawaiian culture enjoyed such a renewal. Along with the push for a land base came the growth of cultural pride.

This cultural and political awakening was preceded by a fundamental transformation in Hawai'i's economy. From dependence on military expenditures and cash crops of sugar and pineapple in the first half of the twentieth century, Hawai'i's economy shifted to an increasing dependence on tourism and land speculation with rising investment by multinational corporations in the second half of the century.

Concentrated land ownership, a problem since the onslaught of plantation agriculture in the 1800's had actually increased during the twentieth century. Small landowners controlled less than ten percent of the land. The military, the state, large private estates, and foreign and American developers owned the remainder. As a result, large landlords drove up the price of land, capitalizing on the post-statehood rush toward commercial, especially hotel, development.

Already economically exploited and culturally suppressed, rural Hawaiian communities, which had been relatively untouched during the

plantation period, were besieged by rapid development of their agricultural areas beginning in the late 1960's. These communities– among them Hāna, East Moloka'i, Keaukaha, Nānākuli, Wai'anae, Waimānalo, Kahalu'u– had managed to retain many traditional practices such as taro farming, fishing, and the spoken Hawaiian language. Given the effects of educational and religious colonization by the missionaries in the nineteenth century and the great decline in the Native population, these Hawaiian communities, although remnants of a once dynamic civilization, were nevertheless crucial to the perpetuation of Hawaiian culture. Their threatened extinction by urbanization and other forms of development was correctly perceived by many Hawaiians as a final attempt to rid their ancestral homeland of all Hawaiiana. In many ways, it was predictable that the Hawaiian Movement would begin and flourish in rural areas where the call for a land base would be the loudest.

Native Versus Local Rights

At the beginning of the seventies, communities often took a stand in terms of the rights of "local" people. The term "local" included both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian long-time residents of Hawai'i. The assertion of their rights to live on the land was opposed to the rights of property owners like the state, developers, and private estates.

But as the decade wore on, the assertion of indigenous Hawaiian rights as historically unique from the rights of immigrants to Hawai'i began to characterize more community struggles. Independent of their "local" supporters, Hawaiians began to protest development by occupying lands, or by resisting eviction from land scheduled for development. They also protested through mass demonstrations, legal actions, and through cultural assertions such as the construction of fishing villages. These forms of protest placed the Hawaiians' demand to live and transmit their culture on a specified land base at the front of the Movement. The rights of "locals" were not thereby opposed. But Hawaiians' historic and cultural claims to the land as the first and original claimants were increasingly seen, at least by Hawaiians, as primary.[11]

A typical eviction struggle (and one that began the Movement) occurred in 1970 in Kalama Valley on the island of O'ahu where the single largest private landowner in the state of Hawai'i – Bishop Estate – evicted farmers for an upper-income residential development by Kaiser-Aetna. The resistance called forth an outpouring of support from around the state. And although the organizing core, Kōkua Hawai'i, lost the battle, the issue

of land use and land rights would characterize public debate for the next twenty years.

Claiming a Land Base

The merging of land-rich but capital-poor landowners with out of-state corporations became a familiar pattern. This combination enabled large resorts, replete with golf courses, condominiums, and restaurants to spring up near beaches and on conservation land around the islands. Mostly descended from American missionaries and other entrepreneurs, the landowners, like Campbell Estate, Castle and Cook, Dillingham, American Factors, Alexander and Baldwin, and others, linked up with American and Japanese multi-national corporations to develop the Kona Coast on the Big Island of Hawai'i, the east end of Moloka'i, the Wai'anae Coast on O'ahu, the south and north shores of Kaua'i, and the west side of Maui. Such resort and residential development spurred anti-development battles wherever it occurred.[12]

In the meantime, Native political organizations moved to reclaim a land base. Legal corporations (e.g., the Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims), political groups (the A.L.O.H.A. Association), and loose-knit community coalitions argued for reparations from the United States for its role in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893, for forced annexation in 1898, and for the consequent loss of Hawaiian nationhood and sovereignty. Beyond this, legal claims were made (e.g., by groups like Ho'āla Kānāwai – "awaken the law") to the Native "trust" lands totalling nearly a million acres, but mismanaged by the state and federal governments. And finally, claims to a land base were brought as a right of residence by virtue of indigenous status, called aboriginal rights.[13]

Along with these claims had come concerns over military expropriation and abuse of lands. The American military controls nearly thirty percent of the most populated island, O'ahu. Military lands, including "trust" lands, were taken by Executive Order during periods when the United States was at war.[14]

By 1976, this concern had exploded over Kaho'olawe Island, smallest of the eight major islands, military bombing target since 1941, and site of traditional Hawaiian worship. Occupation by Native activists rallied Hawaiians statewide around several issues: destructive military land use in an archipelago where land is scarce; the assertion of the Native land use ethic – *mālama 'āina* – in opposition to military use; and the failure of the state to protect the land for the public. In 1990, after the death of two

activists and the designation of the island as a national historic site, the bombing was finally halted, but the controversy surrounding military misuse of land has expanded to include illegal military use of Native trust lands (for which the military pays, in some cases, less than a dollar a year), and the general presence of the military on all islands.[15]

By 1980, abuse of Hawaiian Homes trust lands (nearly 200,000 acres) by the state and federal governments had been challenged by demonstrations, occupations, and law suits because of the extent of illegal use for airports (e.g., Hilo, Kamuela, and Moloka'i airports), military reservations (e.g., Lualualei Valley), public schools (e.g. Nānākuli and Moloka'i high schools), public parks (e.g., Anahola and Waimānalo beach parks) and county refuse sites (e.g., Moloka'i dump), even private homes (e.g., Kawaihae residential lots). By 1991 there were over 20,000 people on the Hawaiian Homes waiting list, while illegal usages and other non-Native uses existed on more than 130,000 acres of trust lands. Particularly galling to beneficiaries was their status as wards of the state, without litigation rights to challenge illegal uses in both state and federal courts.[16]

The other trust – on ceded lands – had never been used by the state for Hawaiians, despite their beneficiary status. Thus, as Hawaiians came to link abuse of the trust lands with land dispossession at the time of the overthrow and annexation, they coalesced around a unified push for a land base. Land and money restitution from the American government for its historic role in the loss of Hawaiian domain and dominion could be coupled with Native control of the trust lands to form a land base as the anchor of Native sovereignty. In the decade of the eighties, various arguments for Hawaiian sovereignty were put forward by defendants in eviction arrests (e.g., at Sand Island and Mākua Valley), by Hawaiian activists at the United Nations and other international forums, and by lawyers and political groups seeking redress for all manner of Native rights violations. International networking included exchanges of nationalists to Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific conferences and Third World gatherings throughout the Pacific, the Americas, and Asia. What started as a call for restitution in the seventies had broadened into a clear demand for Native sovereignty in the eighties.[17]

The strength of this push was not lost on politicians at both the state and federal levels. Long discounted as a minor voice because of their poor voting participation in the American-imposed electoral system, Hawaiians had come more and more to represent a potential pivotal swing group in elections. If organized, they could turn narrow defeats into narrow victories. Towards this end, Hawaiian claims were professed by candidates

to the 1978 State Constitutional Convention, in various campaigns for the legislature and eventually the state house, and even in congressional races. The results were seen in an increase in elected Hawaiian officials beginning in the late seventies, in the appointment of two presidential commissions in 1981 to review both the Hawaiian Homes trust and the conditions of Hawaiians, and in the creation of an Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) in the Constitutional Convention.[18]

The OHA Story

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs, though ostensibly for representation of Hawaiian rights by Hawaiians (the only group allowed to vote for its all-Native trustees), was actually devised as an extension of the state. OHA was powerless as a mechanism of self-government, having no control over the trust lands (i.e. no legal status to stop their takings or misuse), and no statutory strength to prevent abuses of Hawaiian culture (for example, disinterment of Hawaiian remains and destruction of Hawaiian sites).

OHA trustees were not paid, resulting in a high turnover as board members moved on to gainful employment. Indeed, three members from the first board quit after one term to run for the legislature, using their visibility as trustees to aid in voter identification. Two chairpersons of the board misused OHA monies while in office, although only one was dismissed for the offense. Over its many years of existence, OHA has been plagued by scandals, some sex-related, others concerning mismanagement of funds, falsification of credentials, and misrepresentation of programs to the state legislature.[19]

Beyond its trustee problems, OHA was accused by many Hawaiians of being a "do-nothing" organization because most of its funding went into personnel, office space, and administration, rather than programs for Native beneficiaries. Moreover, without a secure source of funding, the office was constantly embroiled with the state in legal battles, often inconclusive, over a share of the trust land revenues. In the end, OHA was reduced to just another interest group begging at the door of the legislature.

But the worst aspect of OHA was that it served as a false front to the Movement: although overflowing with pro-Hawaiian rhetoric, OHA supported destructive development, such as state geothermal energy projects on Hawai'i island that endangered pristine Native forests and threatened pollution of nearby communities and potential destabilization of the volcanic area where geothermal wells would be sunk. A mega-resort called West Beach (one-fifth the size of Waikīkī), was supported by several

OHA trustees, despite overwhelming evidence that its hotels, marinas, restaurants, and golf courses would damage fisheries, obliterate historic sites, and forever pave over fertile lands. Finally, projects like these had the active support of the local Democratic Party, the reigning political force since statehood.[20]

While OHA closed ranks with the Democratic Party, there was a proliferation of sovereignty groups seeking some form of Native political control of a land base. One of these groups, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, was born out of a core watchdog association that had lobbied for the Federal-State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. After the Task Force report documenting both abuses of trust lands and recommendations, the community group called a constitutional convention of its own in 1987, with 250 delegates from around the archipelago meeting to create a constitution and to elect interim officials.[21]

The Emergence of Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Groups

As a Native initiative for self-government, Ka Lāhui was a repudiation of OHA as the sole representative of the Hawaiian people. Within three years of its first convention, Ka Lāhui's membership had grown to 7,500, suggesting more than that Hawaiians did not support OHA. Ka Lāhui's large membership was a sign of how many Hawaiians supported sovereignty on the model of American Indian nations. Ka Lāhui served as a focus for discontent over continued state abuse of the trust lands and revenues, and it raised an issue that OHA had ignored: inclusion of Hawaiians in federal Indian policy that recognized over 300 Native nations in the United States while not extending this recognition to Hawaiians.

By the end of 1988, the issue of sovereignty was identified with the issue of nationhood. While OHA worked on a reparations package to be presented to Congress, a sovereignty conference was hosted at the state capitol. Six major groups presented positions on the structure of the Native land base, a mechanism for Hawaiian governance, and political strategies for the achievement of nationhood. The groups included Na 'Ōiwi O Hawai'i (supporting more community education before any mechanism for government was established), the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (supporting decentralized, island-based, autonomous entities), E Ola Mau (a health professionals group supporting Ka Lāhui), the Council of Hawaiian Organizations (supporting a constitutionally established mechanism on a separate land base), the Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs (supporting secession), and Ka Lāhui Hawai'i (supporting federal recog-

nition of Hawaiians as a Native nation with all the rights of nationhood extended to Indian nations). Although OHA board members had been invited to participate, they declined.

All groups developed their arguments from the prior existence of the Hawaiian nation, the culpability of the United States in the loss of Hawaiian domain and dominion in 1893, the unilateral change in Native citizenship that came with forcible annexation in 1898, and the internationally recognized right of all peoples to self-determination. The specifics of the Native Hawaiian-U.S. relationship had been linked with the universals of the human rights position to form a powerful defense of Hawaiian sovereignty.[22]

In the simplest terms, sovereignty was defined, in the words of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, as the ability of a people who share a common culture, religion, language, value system and land base, to exercise control over their lands and lives, independent of other nations.

Given that the Hawaiian form of government had been overthrown in 1893, the first order of business for Hawaiians emerged as the creation of a mechanism for self-government.[23]

Self-Governance and Sovereignty Versus Reparations

What that mechanism will look like is still hotly debated by sovereignty groups today. But the level of commitment is so high that when Senator Inouye's Indian Affairs Committee came to Honolulu to hear testimony on reparations in the summer of 1988, Native groups argued for self-government, not merely reparations. In 1989 a series of repeat forums yielded the same response from the communities.

The most compelling defense of Hawaiian sovereignty was put to the Senator as an extension of current federal policy regarding Native people controlled by the United States. In the 1970's, President Nixon had officially changed U.S. Native policy from wardship to self-determination. The policies of termination (through which Indian tribes would cease to have federal recognition and therefore tribal land rights as well as other treaty rights) were to be replaced by a commitment to aid and encourage tribal self-government. This aid was to come not only in monies for economic development projects on reservations, but also as specific recognition of tribes by the federal government. Today, the U.S. government recognizes over 300 Indian nations. Under existing U.S. policy, relations between the federal government and these Indian tribes are described as "Nation-to-Nation."

In the Hawaiian case, there has not been any federal recognition of a Native claim to self-government. It is as if, in terms of federal policy, Hawaiians are still in the stage of "termination" rather than self-government. In practice, federal policy had straddled two poles, acknowledging Hawaiians as Natives for some purposes (such as educational and health programs) but refusing to grant them the privileges of Native recognition in terms of self-government.

Inouye was stunned by this argument. He could not fail to see the injustice of federal recognition for one Native people but not another. Pressured by Hawaiians calling for self-government, and cornered by the press at the hearing, Inouye finally acknowledged that "If native American Indians have sovereignty, it's difficult to argue Hawaiians do not." As a self-proclaimed champion of Indian rights, Inouye had been forced to recognize the equal claims of another Native people (who were also from his home state) to self-determination.[24]

The 1988 public statement by Inouye that Hawaiians had a claim to as much self-government as Indians was a recognition in itself of how far the Movement had progressed. For years, the debate had been whether or not Hawaiians deserved reparations. Governor Waihe'e had stated openly that he would be satisfied with an apology for the overthrow from the American government. OHA, meanwhile, had supported a large reparations package to be dispersed through its offices.

But the reparations game had been surpassed by a historic evolution in Hawaiian consciousness. Faced with this reality, and sensing that they had been underprepared and out-organized at the summer hearing (where they had argued for reparations), OHA came out for sovereignty. Acknowledging themselves a state agency, they nevertheless asserted that OHA should be the governing structure of the Hawaiian nation.

This position was problematic for several reasons: OHA was not representative of all Hawaiian communities and never had been, because voting procedures overweighted the most populous island of O'ahu, resulting in a skewed representation for trustees from the Neighbor Islands; any lands or monies transferred by the federal government to OHA would go to the state, not to the Hawaiian people, since OHA was a state agency; this would mean less, not more, control by Hawaiians over their future. Finally, giving OHA nation status would be akin to calling the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) an Indian nation.

Nevertheless, OHA issued a detailed "Blueprint" for reparations in 1989 arguing their prior status as the representative organization of the Hawaiian people. Ignoring the argument for inclusion into federal Indian

"Pele is the volcanic eruption, heat, steam and forest. Pele is the spiritual foundation for Hawaiians. Geothermal will plunge into her very being. For us this is a sacrilege" – Pele Defense Fund. Anti-geothermal demonstration, Wao Kele o Puna. Photo: Marion Kelly, March 25, 1990.

policy, OHA's Blueprint made no claims against the State of Hawai'i, despite documented abuse of its trust relationship to Hawaiians. Instead, all claims were made against the federal government for the overthrow and annexation, with the recommendation that OHA be allowed to have control of the trust lands.[25] In February of 1990, after 30 months of closed-door negotiations, OHA and the governor's office concluded an agreement to settle ceded land claims against the state. In the settlement, Hawaiians lose their right to 1.4 million acres of ceded lands and OHA receives $100 million in 1991, and $8.5 million every year thereafter. Thus, money rather than land is at the heart of the settlement.

Clearly, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, the governor, and Senator Inouye have begun to move in concert to: (1) support continued state and federal control of Native trusts; (2) refuse to transfer control of the lands to Native Hawaiians but give OHA some monies from the trusts; and (3) allow a measure of autonomy on some portion of Hawaiian Homes lands but only for agricultural and residential purposes, not for commercial or industrial purposes, with allowable water use for agricultural purposes only.[26]

In the meantime, Ka Lāhui increased its representation, numbering more than 16,000 by January 1993. Their response to this potential deal has been carefully enunciated since 1987. The land base of the Hawaiian Nation should include all of the 200,000 acres of Hawaiian Homes lands, half of the 1.4 million acres of the ceded lands, and additional lands provided in restitution for the overthrow. Moreover, and perhaps most critically, Hawaiians must be recognized as a Native nation within the purview of federal policy on other Native peoples in the United States.[27]

While OHA and the Democratic Party bosses move to foreclose real self-determination for Hawaiians, it is likely that their combined efforts will increase OHA's legitimacy in the eyes of the Federal government. Of course, OHA will need more than the State of Hawai'i to move Congress to accept a restitution package. Given repeated attempts during the Reagan years to abrogate all Indian treaties and to create "national sacrifice areas" on reservation lands, settlement of Hawaiian claims through congressional action will remain doubtful for some time to come.

Waiting for Self-Determination

While all this political maneuvering continues, of course, the marginalization and exploitation of Hawaiians, their culture, and lands also continues. Historically, the decline of Hawaiians and their culture is traced directly

to land dispossession. Therefore, any attempt to address Hawaiian claims which does not return Hawaiians to control of their own land is doomed to fail.

If OHA is successful, the Hawaiian people will be burdened with yet another agency, non-Hawaiian in design and function, *set in place to prevent rather than fulfill Native autonomy*. Like Indian tribal councils created by the federal government to short-circuit Indian self-determination in the early twentieth century, OHA will be a top-down institution whose architects envision an extension of the State of Hawai'i (easily influenced by the ruling Democratic Party) rather than a Native initiative for self-government.

Given the growing number of sovereignty groups, however, OHA's position will not go unchallenged. Ka Lāhui Hawai'i and other representatives of the sovereignty roundtable, Ka Pākaukau, will dog OHA at every step – both in Washington, D.C., and in Hawai'i. The central argument for Native control will be heard if not heeded.

Elsewhere in the Pacific, Native peoples struggle with the same dilemma. The Maori, like the Hawaiians, are a minority in their own land, have been dispossessed through conquest and occupation by a foreign white people, and have suffered psychologically from cultural suppression. They, too, have been demanding a form of sovereignty, seeking identity and cultural integrity by returning to the fight for tribal lands. And they have supported Hawaiian resistance, as fellow Polynesians and as fellow colonized people.

In Tahiti, meanwhile, a strong independence movement has captured the mayorship of the second largest city while uniting antinuclear, labor, and Native nationalist forces to resist French colonialism. With others in the Pacific, the Tahitians have spearheaded the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Movement. Aborigines, Kanaks, East Timorese, and Belauans focus world attention on well-known cases of genocide and military imperialism. And for each of these indigenous peoples, there is the familiar, predictable struggle for self-determination.

But if Hawaiians are not alone in the Pacific, they are certainly unsupported in their own islands. While the United Nations declared 1993 the Year for the World's Indigenous People and moves to devise conventions and standards for the rights of Native peoples worldwide, the general public attitude in Hawai'i remains one of resistance to the recognition of Hawaiians as Native and, therefore, both eligible and deserving of self-government. More than any single actor or agency, the general American ideology that "everyone is deserving of the same treatment because

everyone is an immigrant" works against the recognition and settlement of Hawaiian claims. The two ruling elites in Hawai'i, the Japanese and the *haole*, express their racism against Hawaiians by claiming Hawai'i as their own, conveniently ignoring the overthrow, forced annexation, and continued land theft. Neither is there any acknowledgement that the privileges of these groups rest on the continued dispossession of Hawaiians. As in the metropole, so in the colony: the settler classes deny their history.

In such a hostile atmosphere, it is certain that whatever successes Hawaiians do achieve in the struggle for self-determination will be won slowly and at great expense. But, as in the times of their ancestors, there will always be Hawaiian voices speaking for the land and the people born from her. Unlike all other peoples in the islands, only Hawaiians are truly children of the land.

Notes

1. First quote is from testimony by Kamokila Campbell, wealthy heir to the Campbell Estate, before the Larcade Committee, U.S. Congress, House Committee on Territories, Statehood for Hawai'i Hearings, H. 263, 79th Congress, 2nd sess, January 7-18,1946, p. 482. Second quote is from an interview with Kehau Lee in the Hawai'i Free People's Press, Vol.1, 1971. Third quote is from testimony by *Kia'āina* (Governor) of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, Mililani Trask, before Senator Inouye's Committee on Indian Affairs, Honolulu, summer 1989.

2. For a discussion of state policy based on the rapid expansion of the tourist industry and its crucial influence on immigration and population growth, see Nordyke 1989:134-72. In 1990, Hawaiians numbered around 225,000. The tourist count was projected to 6.5 million by the end of the year.

3. In the 1989-1991 biennium budget of the Hawai'i State Legislature, the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau received over $15 million.

4. Nordyke writes in *The Peopling of Hawai'i*: "In 1980 the gross density of Waikīkī, including over 17,000 residents, 43,000 nonresident visitors, and 32,000 workers employed in the area was about 93,000 persons per square mile – one of the most densely poulated regions in the world" (p.150), For examples of the socioeconomic and environmental problems resulting from tourism see *Hawai'i Business*, April, 1985; Jon Matsuoka and Terry Kelly, 1988; David Stannard 1986; Meda Chesney-Lind 1983; and the 1989 Declaration of the Hawai'i Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism which calls for a ban on all resorts in rural Hawaiian communities, among other things. Unpublished but available from the American Friends Service Committee, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Finally, for state projections of tourist industry growth see Nordyke 1989:256.

5. For Hawaiian population estimates, see David Stannard, 1989,1990.

6. For the Hawaiian relationship to the land and an analysis of the impact of the Great Māhele on this relationship, see Kame'eleihiva 1986, 1992.

7. Levy 1975:857.

8. For the original report on the overthrow and native sentiment against annexation, see Hon. James Blount, *Executive Document* 1893. For the modern controversy over the culpability of the United States in the overthrow, see *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, vols. 1 and 2, 1983. For an analysis of the Territorial period, see Kent 1983.

9. For a discussion of the trust lands, see vol. 2 of the *Study Commission Report* and the report of the *Federal-State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act*, 1983.

10. For current statistics on Hawaiians, see *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, vol. 1; also see *E Ola Mau: Native Hawaiians Health Needs Study*, 1985.

11. For a more detailed account of the Hawaiian Movement in the context of colonialism, see Trask 1984a.

12. Kent 1983. Also, Trask 1987a. For the relationship between missionary descended landowners and development of resort and commercial properties, see George Cooper and Gavan Daws, 1985.

13. For an argument for sovereignty based on the overthrow and annexation as well as aboriginal rights, see Melody MacKenzie, "Towards Reparations~Restitution," and "Sovereignty: Honoring the Native Claim," prepared for the second volume of the *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, available from the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation.

14. For a summary of military landholdings in the context of Hawai'i politics in the twentieth century, see Lind 1984. For a list of Hawaiian Homes trust lands taken illegally through Executive Orders, see the report of the *Federal-State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act* 1983:265-89.

15. For an early study of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana in the context of Hawaiian cultural revival, see Myra Jean Tuggle, 1982. For a later study, see Tom Keane for the U.S. Navy, 1986, available from Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i and the reply from the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, available from their attorney, Cynthia Thielen, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

16. For the most complete review of the problem with the Hawaiian Homes trust as well as some solutions, see the report of the *Federal-State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act*. The report carefully documents illegal uses, wrongful takings, and below-market rentals. Recommendations are also made, including a right to sue for

aggrieved beneficiaries in both State and Federal courts. Waiting list numbers are available from the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, State of Hawai'i.

17. For a summary of the practice, enunciation, and theoretical underpinnings of sovereignty in the Hawaiian Movement, see Trask 1984b. For a discussion of Hawaiian claims to nationhood in the context of American Indian nationhood, see *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*, a booklet available from the Center for Hawaiian Studies.

18. The presidential commissions grew out of a decade of political activism around the issues of reparations and the abuse of the Hawaiian Homes trust. The Native Hawaiians Study Commission issued its report, including a minority report in Volume 2 in 1983. By coincidence, the Federal-State Task on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act issued its report in the same year. Both reports are excellent for background material on the two issues.

19. This list of problems was compiled from ten years of minutes from OHA monthly meetings (available from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Honolulu, Hawai'i). Perhaps the only good thing that can be said here is that the sunshine laws appear to have worked.

20. OHA's support for geothermal energy projects and for West Beach was, and remains, controversial both within Hawaiian communities and within the OHA Board of trustees. Neither project was supported by the board unanimously.

21. Faces of the Nation, a video produced for Ka Lāhui by Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina Video explaining the origins and structure of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i contains valuable information about the governing body of Ka Lāhui. The Constitution of the Nation is contained in a booklet, *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*, available from the Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

22. Trask 1984b.

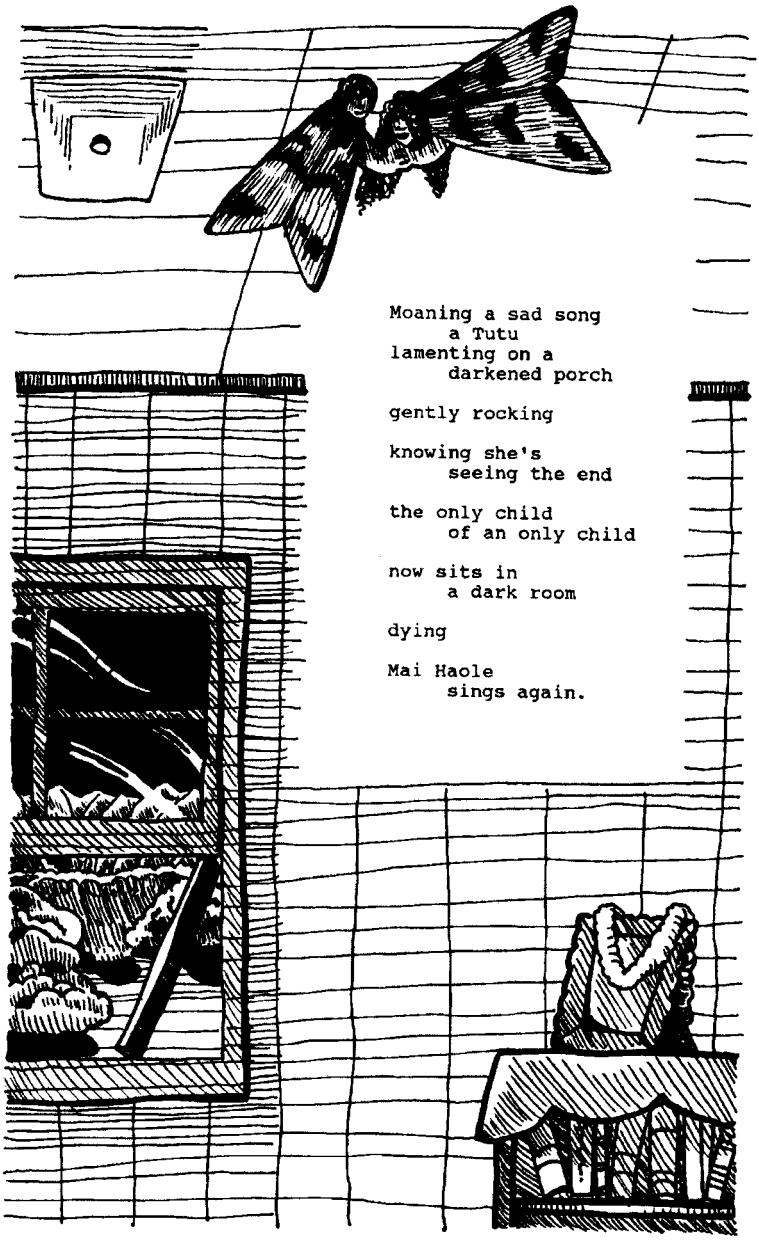
23. This quote is from the booklet, *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*, p. 10, from the Center for Hawaiian Studies.

24. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 22,1988.

25. *Blueprint for Native Hawaiian Entitlements*, September 1989, available from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

26. This information came from a Ka Lāhui bulletin leaking information regarding an impending settlement between the state and OHA with the support of Inouye's office. The bulletin, dated January 26, 1990, is available from the Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

27. Ibid., p. 2.



Moaning a sad song
a Tutu
lamenting on a
darkened porch

gently rocking

knowing she's
seeing the end

the only child
of an only child

now sits in
a dark room

dying

Mai Haole
sings again.

Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka ʻĀina i Ka Pono

ʻAe, E nā ʻAumākua o ka pō
Yes, oh Ancestors of the night

E nā ʻAumākua o ke ao
Oh Ancestors of the day

ʻO ʻUli kuʻu kupuna wahine
Oh ʻUli, my grandmother

ʻO Haumea kuʻu kumu mana
Oh Haumea, my source of mana

ʻO Pele koʻu Akua la e
Oh Pele my Akua

ʻO Kānehekili Akua kamaʻāina
Oh Kānehekili Akua of this land

ʻO Lonomakua hoʻā i ke ahi
Oh Lonomakua, lighter of the fire

ʻO Kū, ʻo Kūhoʻoneʻenuʻu e
Oh Kū, oh Kūhoʻoneʻenuʻu

E mōlia i nā kolea ʻaihue ea
Sacrifice the foreigners who have stolen our sovereignty

Eia ka mohai hoʻopāna'i
Here is the offering of revenge

ʻO ke kānaka ʻino, ʻo ka wahaheʻe
The evil people, the lying people

‘O ka ho‘okae ‘ana o ka Lāhui
Those people who despise Hawaiians

E lawe aku i nā lawehala ma kāhi ‘ē
Take the wrongdoers to another place

E maliu i ku‘u uwalo e
Heed my cry

Ho‘iho‘i mai iā mākou i ka ‘āina
Return to us the land

Ho‘iho‘i mai iā mākou i ke ea
Return to us the sovereignty

E mālama, e ho‘oulu i ko ‘oukou mau pulapula
Preserve and inspire your descendants until we are so old

A kolopupū, a haumaka ‘iole
That we are bent with age, and our eyes droop like a rat

A ka‘ikōkō, a pala lauhala e
Until we are carried along in a net and our skin looks like dried pandanus

E pale i nā mea ‘ino a pau e
Guard us from all evil

Amama, ua noa, ua lele wale aku no e –.
The prayer is ended, the kapu is lifted, the prayer has flown.

Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992

Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka ʻĀina i Ka Pono

The Concepts of Sovereignty and Religious Sanction of Correct Political Behavior

By Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa

"*Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka ʻĀina i Ka Pono*" is the motto of our state and is usually translated to mean "The Life of the Land is Perpetuated by Righteousness." But when this statement was first made in 1843 it had a far different meaning. When Kauikeaouli, the *mōʻi* or king who ruled as Kamehameha III, made this proclamation, *ea* meant sovereignty, as well as life, because the two words are inseparable. What he meant was "the sovereignty of the land is perpetuated by *pono*, or by righteous behavior." The two important words in this statement are *ea*, or sovereignty, and *pono*, or correct behavior. We should examine these ideas to understand what our ancestors thought about sovereignty, so that we understand what is appropriate for our Nation today.

What does *ea* or sovereignty mean? In English, sovereignty means having "supreme and independent political authority," or in Hawaiian terms, the *mana* to rule the land. For our Hawaiian ancestors, being an independent Nation, not being controlled by foreigners of any sort, was the very foundation of life. It was the life of the *ʻāina*, the land, the life of the *aliʻi nui*, the high chiefs, and the life of the *makaʻāinana*, the commoners.

The historical events of 1843 which inspired Kamehameha III's statement about the "*ea o ka ʻāina*," began when an arrogant English nobleman named Lord Paulet, commanding a British warship, came into Honolulu harbor demanding ownership of land, and other special privileges, for British *haole* (Whites) living in Hawaiʻi nei. Upon American missionary advice, and seeking to avoid war (especially with no standing army), Kamehameha III ceded the Nation of Hawaiʻi to the superior military strength of Great Britain, until such time when the British government would recognize and correct the wrong that had been done.

When the British government returned Hawaiian sovereignty six months later on July 31, 1843, the strategy of cession was vindicated. Kamehameha III held a great celebration called "*Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea*" or "The Return of Sovereignty Day," with a big *lūʻau* for all the Hawaiian people to attend at his summer home in Nuʻuanu valley. Some 10,000 people were fed on that day and the Hawaiian people rejoiced with games and *hula*. For

Kamehameha III and the Hawaiian people, *ea o ka 'āina* was sovereignty and it was their life, indeed, as it had been for our ancestors from ancient times.

Ea and *Pono* in Traditional Religion

Before the coming of the *haole*, the idea of *ea* or sovereignty, of having political independence, was supported by the traditional *'aikapu* religion. In traditional times, the Hawaiian polity was religious and Hawaiian religion, at the *ali'i nui* level, was political. Therefore, *ali'i nui* were very religious, for without approval from the *akua*, or gods, it was believed they had not long to rule.

Ea was considered a gift from the *akua*, in particular from Kū, the *akua* of war and of politics. During the lengthy and strict 'Aha ritual, Kū was enticed from his favorite residence in the mountains, to the *heiau* by the sea where he would live with the *ali'i nui*. There at the *heiau* a most *kapu* ceremony was held for the *waiea*, the "water of life" or the "essence of sovereignty." By this ceremony, Kū would give his *mana* to the *mō'ī*, the supreme *ali'i nui*, allowing him or her to rule the land.

Only the *mō'ī* and the *kahuna nui*, or high priest, would enter into the Hale Waiea constructed on the *heiau*. The *mō'ī* would offer a pig, while the *kahuna nui* prayed to Kū, Lono, Kāne and Kanaloa, to ask them to dwell within the house. These *akua* represented political control, fertility of the land, and fresh water, and the ocean resources. From the *mana* of the *akua* would come *ea* for the *ali'i*, and the people. *Ea*, life and sovereignty, or the *mana* to control the heavens and earth, would give life to the Hawaiian people, and they would be preserved by their 40,000 *akua*.

After the ceremony the people rejoiced because all believed that the government would enjoy great peace and prosperity during the coming years. From the peace established by the *mana* of the *akua*, would come all blessings, especially rain from the heavens, making the crops abundant, providing much food for the people and comfort to all. The *mō'ī* had done what was *pono*, and because he or she had behaved correctly, the *akua* had given them the *mana* to rule, the gift of *ea*. The concept of *pono*, however, was a little more complicated than offering a few prayers.

As Kamehameha III understoood it, *ea* was perpetuated by *pono*, or righteous behavior, and in traditional times, *pono* behavior led to perfect harmony in the universe. What then was *pono* behavior and how did it come about? For the answers to that question we need to turn to the foundation of the traditional *'aikapu* religion, which began in the time of Papa and Wākea.

According to the Hawaiian account, the Hawaiian islands were born when Papahānaumoku, the earth-mother, mated with Wākea, the sky-father. From this genealogy came the first *kalo*, or taro plant, then the first *ali'i nui*, and then all of the Hawaiian people. The *kalo* was a *kinolau*, or body form of Kāne, the *akua* of fresh water, and he would give his body to feed the Hawaiian people. The *ali'i nui*, Hāloa, was an *akua* child, whose descendants would lead his younger brothers and sisters, the Hawaiian people.

By this genealogy, we Hawaiians know that we descend from the *akua*, from Papahānaumoku and Wākea, from the *'āina*, the *kalo*, and from the *ali'i nui*, those human *akua* who walked upon the earth; we are one lineage. In all Polynesia, there is a reciprocal relationship between the younger and elder children in the family. The younger children are to love, honor and serve the elders; the elder children are to love, feed and protect the younger children.

In Hawaiian, we call the duty of the younger children *mālama*; thus as *maka'āinana* Hawaiians it is our duty to *mālama* the *'āina, mālama* the *kalo*, and *mālama* the *ali'i nui*. The duty of the elder children is to *hānai*, to feed and to raise, and to *ho'omalu*, to protect from harm the younger children. Thus, if we Hawaiians care for and serve the *'āina*, the *kalo*, and the *ali'i nui*, they in turn will feed and protect us. For our ancestors this was *pono* behavior and it made order in our society.

For two thousand years Hawaiians cared for the *'āina* and it fed and clothed us. Everything we needed to make our life good – from our food to our clothing to our houses to our canoes – came from the land. And the *kalo* was our main source of food, that wondrous plant that can grow in almost any soil, and actually thrives in wetlands.

The *ali'i nui*, by comparison, had a twofold duty as they were the younger brothers and sisters of the *'āina* and the *kalo*, and the elder siblings of the *maka'āinana*. It was their duty to lead the people in caring for the land and the *kalo*, and in the worship of the *akua*. To fulfill this duty the *ali'i nui* needed *ea*. In traditional times, the *mana* for their *ea* came from the worship of two principal *akua*: Lono and Kū.

Lono was the *akua* of fertility: fertility of the land and of the people. Without him we could not *mālama 'āina*, for it was his blessing that made the land flourish, so that the people could be fed. It was the job of the *ali'i nui* to welcome Lono as an honored guest of the land; this was done in the Hānaipū ceremony of the Makahiki ritual. To Lono were offered the first fruits of the land, gifts from the *maka'āinana*. These gifts were organized by a host of subordinate *ali'i* called *konohiki*.

Konohiki were also responsible for organizing labor so that the land was well planted, and the complex irrigation systems and fishponds were maintained. The word *konohiki* derived from two other words, *kono* and *hiki. Kono* means to invite or request, *hiki* means to accomplish. When the *ali'i nui* made his or her request for gifts to Lono, it was the *konohiki* that fulfilled the request. If the *konohiki* failed in his or her duty *they* were dismissed from the land rather than the *maka'āinana,* since the *konohiki* were responsible to the *ali'i nui.* All of this was *pono* behavior and in this way Lono was pleased. *Mālama 'āina*, then, is a traditional foundation for *ea.*

The other path to *mana* was that of Kū, the *akua* of political activity and war, who gave the *ali'i nui* the right to rule. Kū was severe, angry and bloodthirsty by nature; several men, usually wrongdoers, had to be sacrificed to lure him from the mountain. However, war in traditional times was not as bloody as it is today. Then there were no weapons of mass destruction; all killing was done by one's own two hands, and it was an occupation principally of the *ali'i,* not of the *maka'āinana.* War in traditional times also included great rituals of debate, or *ho'opāpā*, and confrontation, or *kū'ē*, wherein the lead warriors would offer long chants of challenge to degrade the opposition's genealogy and *mana*. Therefore, the *mana* given to the *ali'i nui* in the Hale Waiea, during the 'Aha ritual was most important to maintain the *ea* of that *ali'i nui* when in conflict on the battlefield. *Ho'opāpā* and *kū'ē* are also a foundation for *ea.*

The universe was *pono*, or in perfect harmony, when the *mō'ī* and *ali'i nui* pleased both Lono and Kū, and when the *maka'āinana* fulfilled their duty to *mālama*. As the historian Davida Malo described it, the Nation was like a body; the *mō'ī* was the real head of the government, and the *ali'i nui* were the shoulders and the chest. The *kahuna nui* was the right arm, the *kālaimoku*, or the principal *konohiki*, was the left arm. The soldiers were the right leg and the farmers and fishermen were the left leg. Each had their own responsibilities and when all worked together the Nation was *pono.*

What happened to our *ali'i nui*? Where are they today and how did they lose the sovereignty of our land? Were they *pono* or not? If not, why not? Since many lies have been told about our history, let us review what actually happened.

Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Be *Pono*?

Since the time of Kamehameha I until the time of Lili'uokalani, our *ali'i nui* have tried to be *pono*, in caring for the land and for the life of the peop-

le. They were faced, however, with many new problems brought by the *haole* for which there were no ancestral solutions. The greatest of these problems were the foreign diseases and the great death that they brought upon our people. Waves of foreigners and waves of foreign epidemics crashed upon our shores. Typhoid fever came in 1804, followed by:

Influenza in 1826
Whooping Cough in 1832
Mumps in 1839
Leprosy in 1840
Measles, Whooping Cough and Influenza in 1848
Smallpox in 1853
Whooping Cough in 1888
Diptheria in 1890
Cholera in 1895
Bubonic Plague in 1899-1900

In 1778, when Captain James Cook arrived in Hawai'i, some scholars estimate there were a million Hawaiians living in Hawai'i. By the early 1820s, only about 200,000 Hawaiians remained, reflecting a population decline of 80% in the first 45 years of contact with the *haole*. By 1893, when the *haole* overthrew our government, only 40,000 Hawaiians remained. If we had had a million Hawaiians in 1893, we would still have our country. *Haole* diseases were, and remain, allies of *haole* imperialism.

To the *ali'i nui* of Kamehameha's time, the death from foreign disease was a sign of the loss of *pono*. Somehow, the *akua* had been displeased, and yet Kamehameha was one of the most *pono ali'i nui* in Hawaiian history. He was extremely religious and respected all of the *akua*. He took great care of the *ali'i nui*, the *kahuna*, and the *maka'āinana*. He excelled in *hānai*, and *ho'omalu*, and his efforts to *mālama 'āina* are legendary. How could any *mō'ī* be more *pono* than Kamehameha? And, if the great deaths continued while he was so *pono*, had the old *akua* abandoned us?

When Kamehameha died in 1819, the *ali'i nui* who followed him looked for a new *pono*, and the old *'aikapu* religion of 40,000 Hawaiian *akua* were set aside. Six years later the principal *ali'i nui* had converted to Christianity, because it was a religion that promised *ola hou* or new life for the people. Christianity was brought to Hawai'i in 1820 by American Calvinists from New England. They told our *kūpuna* that Hawaiians were dying because Hawaiians didn't believe in Jehovah, the *akua* who could grant *ola hou* or everlasting life.

Our *kūpuna* saw that the *haole* did not die from the terrible diseases as did Hawaiians. Not knowing of *haole* immunities to such diseases, the *kūpuna* naturally assumed that it was the *haole akua* who protected *haole* from the great death. Moreover, that's what the American missionaries themselves told Hawaiians. Leading the Nation into Christianity and into following the *haole akua* seemed *pono* behavior for the *ali'i nui.*

The problem was that American missionaries taught *ali'i nui* if they wanted the *mana* of the *haole akua*, who was very strange and demanding, then they must follow the advice of the new *kāhuna pule*, the American missionaries. Another problem was that Calvinist Christianity reflected American ideals which were particularly racist, anti-Hawaiian, anti-*ali'i nui*, and opposed to living in harmony with the land.

When Calvinists first came to Hawai'i they described Hawaiians as "naked and chattering savages [...] living in pagan gloom" and compared us to "the missing link between brute and man," although early explorers had described Hawaiians as a handsome people, living in a beautiful land. With the advent of American Calvinists and their racist views, Hawaiians fell from being the descendants of the *akua* to being the "missing link."

If our *kūpuna* wanted the *ola hou* offered by the *haole akua*, they had to accept the *haole* perception of them. Thus the seed of self doubt was planted in the Hawaiian heart, and it remains with us today. The *ali'i nui* continually asked their American *kāhuna*, "*Pehea lā e pono ai*?", or "How shall we be *pono*?" With the coming of the *haole*, the word *pono* came to mean what the *haole* said it should mean, which was to obey the *haole,* become servants in our own land, and allow foreigners to own Hawaiian land.

In 1838, an American missionary named William Richards set about to redefine the concept of *pono* for the *ali'i nui.* He taught that *pono* included the Christian religion, which denigrated all Hawaiian customs as savage; Western laws, which were designed to take power away from the *ali'i nui* and give it to their new foreign advisors; and capitalism, which required private ownership of land.

In response to this religious advice, the *ali'i nui* became more persistent in their church attendance, issued a Bill of Rights in 1839, and a Constitution in 1840, and agreed to the private ownership of land in 1848. By 1850, foreigners were also allowed to own land and immediately began to buy up the country. This included many American missionaries who left the service of god, and became sugar planters, bankers and businessmen.

In the 1843 incident involving Lord Paulet, American missionary advice was to "cede the country under protest" to the greater military might

of the British. For Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, *pono*, or correct behavior, had come to mean following foreign advice and giving in to foreign demands, hoping that the *akua* Jehovah would give him the *mana* to protect his Nation's sovereignty, the *ea o ka 'āina*.

Fifty years later, foreigners owned most of the land and wanted political control too. American missionary descendants asked American marines to help overthrow the Hawaiian government. Queen Lili'uokalani followed in the *pono* example of Kamehameha III, as his action seemed to have been the *pono* way to protect the country. The Queen "ceded the country under protest" to the greater military might of the Americans, until such time as the American government would see the terrible wrong that had been committed in its name, and would, with justice, restore the country to her.

For Queen Lili'uokalani, *pono* meant no bloodshed, as the Christian *akua* forbade it. For her, *pono* meant to give in to foreign demands, to cede the country under protest and to wait for foreign justice. Hawaiians are still waiting for that justice.

Healing the Body of the Nation

Our problem today is how to regain sovereignty, the *mana* to rule our land? Where are the *mō'ī* and *ali'i nui* to *mālama, hānai* and *ho'omalu* us? We seem to be a Nation of *maka'āinana*, and if we remember the old description of the Nation as a body, we have lost the head – our *mō'ī*, and the shoulders – our *ali'i nui*. We are missing the right arm – our *kāhuna*, the left arm – our *konohiki*, and the right leg – our warriors. All that remains is the left leg – our farmers and fishermen, and even they are faltering because we have no land upon which to stand! We must rebuild our body; each of us must choose a task that we are eager to do and train ourselves to do it, and having chosen that task, we should support all parts of our Nation.

If indeed, the *ea o ka 'āina* is perpetuated by *pono*, as Hawaiians we must look to the wisdom of our ancestors and to their definitions of *pono*. Although we may choose to worship different *akua*, we should remember the practical manifestations of our traditional religion.

We should follow the path of Lono to *mālama 'āina*, to care for and preserve our *'āina*, who is, after all, our grandmother, Papahānaumoku, the woman who gave birth to islands. It is our duty to live in harmony with the land, the fresh water and with the sea; we must keep them clean and we must insist that foreigners not pollute our *'āina*. We must teach our

children that *mālama 'aina* is *pono* behavior and is a path to *ea o ka 'āina,* the sovereignty and life of the land.

We should also follow the path of Kū, to *ho'opāpā*, to debate with our enemies, and to *kū'ē*, to confront those foreigners who have stolen our country with their greater military might. *Ho'opāpā*, and *kū'ē* are *pono* behavior and will lead us to *ea* as well.

Lastly, we have to choose our head, and support our shoulders, and we must carefully choose those leaders who will *ho'omalu* and *hānai*, protect and feed us. We need to find the right and left arm, our *kāhuna* and our *konohiki,* and demand some *'āina* for our right and left legs to stand upon. And as we choose, we must look to see whether those of us who would be leaders use federal and state monies to *ho'omalu* and *hānai* the Nation, and to *mālama 'aina*, or whether they are all *waha* (mouth), and spend such monies foolishly. When we see who among our people are *pono*, then we shall rise as a Nation again, as our body will be whole. *E ola hou ke Ea o ka Lāhui Hawai'i* – May the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Nation be returned once again!

Note

This chapter is based on Kame'eleihiwa (1992).

Ho'ohaole Maila 'Ia Kākou – Make Us into Whites

A Kupuna's Thoughts on Assimilation and Decolonization

By Kamaki Maunupau

Efforts to assimilate the Hawaiians into Western ways of life go back to the initial contact with the foreigners, in particular the first encounter with Captain Cook and that period of time. There is much indication that our leaders and the chiefs were awed and very impressed with the technology, the materials, the boats, the clothing, the ships, and the guns and cannons, the foreigners brought. It was very impressive, I am sure, for people who had had no contact with the outside world, but this fascination of the chiefs had a long-range impact on the Hawaiian people.

The first king, Kamehameha I, was told by his *kāhuna*, prophets and seers,[1] that they envisioned the coming of foreigners, their people dressed in black. They would be coming here to convert the Hawaiian people. But he told them that in no way would this happen – not while he was alive. And he lived up to that: Kamehameha I died in 1819, and the first contingent of protestant missionaries arrived from New England in 1820.

The missionaries had very damaging effects upon the Hawaiians. They came here "to do good" and they did well, very well indeed – not least for themselves and their families. While I do feel that they did a lot of good, many of them had – and even today have – condescending attitudes. They felt that they and their culture were superior, and they came here with the thought in mind to Westernize us, or, as we say in Hawaiian, "*ho'ohaole maila 'ia kākou*," make us into Whites. They felt that the Hawaiian culture was backward and that it was their duty to bring the Hawaiians into civilized society by Westernizing or Americanizing the Natives, and they imposed their legal, educational and political system on us.

History shows many subtle and discreet ways which they employed to force their way of life on us. For example, Hawaiians had a love for music and so they used music as a means of converting us. They told the Hawaiians how to live by their standards and their life style. And then they introduced laws like the Māhele with the purpose of private landownership, even though Hawaiians had no idea of what landownership was – as, we all know, land belongs to the gods.

If you keep in mind that the missionaries were really condenscendent

toward Hawaiians, and combine this with the fact that the Hawaiian leaders were awed and impressed and, therefore, let the missionaries take key positions in the educational system which is crucial in the assimilation process, you have a general idea of the background for our present need for and difficulties with decolonization of our minds.

Unfortunately, not many of our leaders, chiefs and royalty really tried to understand what was transpiring, and, in looking back in reflection, I think, that they contributed much to the loss of culture, because they were not able to see the richness within their own culture. Taking the cue from the royalty, a lot of the Hawaiians married foreigners, particularly Whites, and this further created much confusion among the people – not because it is bad to marry Whites, but because they did not try to understand that the Hawaiians had a rich culture in its own, a culture with a lot of merits, a lot of meaningful characteristics.

Graphics: Maka'āinana Media

The influence of these Americans eventually shaped our government. In 1887, the Americans who were dominant in the political structure forced the "Bayonet Constitution" upon the king, Kalākaua, and coerced him into giving up his powers. He eventually became a mere figure-head. When Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893 wanted to introduce legislation, giving back power to the Hawaiian people, these Americans wanted no part of it and were determined to get rid of her. And as we know from the recent historical fact-finding, she was overthrown, dethroned and then jailed. It was obvious that the American politicians did not represent the concerns and the feelings of the populace whom they were supposed to represent. They were just representing their own group, and their real allegiance was to the United States.

The takeover had very damaging effects upon the *kānaka maoli*. One

of the things that contributed to this – without the Hawaiians' knowing – was that the people in power focused their energy and time in efforts to strip away the Hawaiians' pride, rights and background. At the same time other foreigners here were allowed to keep *their* religion, language, and traditions.

In the years leading up to statehood in 1959, and until today, the Hawaiians have not been told the truth. We have not been able to make meaningful decisions, because we were not told that we once had a nation of our own, and the kingdom was overthrown illegally. We were not given the facts, all we were given was an Americanization-process, teaching us the greatness of American society etc., etc., etc. This affected the psychological and physical well-being of every single Hawaiian – and is still doing it today.

Hawaiian statistics point out that the record is bad in the area of health, in the area of crime, in the social area, and in the educational system. But what this is not telling the world is that most Hawaiians are influenced by and living under the American system. Social studies through this century have implied that the Hawaiians have such a dismal record because they come from an inferior culture. This is wrong. Prior to the contact the Hawaiians had a very healthy diet, a low disease rate, understood the balance of nature, had respect for the environment – the sea, land and skies – and saw nature as "the boss." Like many older cultures the Hawaiians had nature-gods, which were not as negative as you might think, because it was an acknowledgement that nature is sacred. If we contrast that with what is happening today, there is general agreement globally, even expressed in the writings of the United Nations, that modern society is in trouble because of lack of respect for the environment.

Today, there is a movement towards going back to the far superior highly nutritious and low-fat ancient Hawaiian diet, with a lot of vegetables, fish, and limu (sea-weed). Our ancestors had great knowledge about a health diet, medicine and healing techniques, and they had specialists in healing called *kāhuna lapa'au*. There is a great interest now in reviving this information and knowledge from the past.

One area that today shows how right, I think, Hawaiians were, is the strong American emphasis on individualism. American society is only now beginning to realize the importance of social networks for human beings, but Hawaiian society has always been based on strong family relationships – the *'ohana* spirit. Hawaiians had a lot of respect for each other, everybody learned how to share whatever they had.

The Hawaiians' history and background in sharing is called "the *aloha*

spirit." Many people today claim that *aloha* has only brought us pain. When you look back, you see how Hawaiians welcomed, shared and gave, but, unfortunately, most of the foreigners who came here came only to take – and that is not what *aloha* is all about. Aloha means "*aloha kekāhi i kekāhi*," to share with one another.

All through my formative years, I could not even relate to my Hawaiianness. It was considered almost irrelevant. Now I wish somebody had taken the time to tell me, to make me see the beauty in my culture, to see how meaningful and brilliant lives our ancestors were living, to make me become aware of it. I have talked to many Hawaiians who have told me that their parents spoke Hawaiian to each other, but only English to their children, because thay felt that times were changing, and that we would have to learn the colonial ways, the ways of the dominant culture to survive. So, preoccupied with the efforts to succeed economically in the changing times, many parents told the Hawaiian kids to let go of the past and to adopt to changing ways. I feel that they were wrong, and we must now work to recapture our rich past, recapture the things that can hold us in good stead into the future. Great researches among our younger Hawaiians are working towards this end today.

The Hawaiians were a humanistic-oriented people, and in the future the world has to learn from Hawaiians and other indigenous groups that we need to be more humane towards one another and the environment. I am not saying that Hawaiians are superior to any other race – we all have the potential to give and share – but the Hawaiians have nurtured this potential through thousands of years.

Unfortunately many Hawaiians, because of a drive towards success in the economic sense with a preoccupation with self-interest, contributed to the Hawaiian society today, which, we must generally agree, best can be characterized by greed, *'ānunu*. We have adopted and infused too many of the American ways. I see America as a very confused and chaotic society and a reason for that is the preoccupation with freedom. But freedom without discipline and responsibility is self-destructive, and the preoccupancy with the self only breeds division amongst us.

Comparing the Hawaiian movement with the Black movement, shows that one of the reasons why the Hawaiians did not really react strongly in the past, was that unlike the Blacks who were shunned aside and overtly discriminated, the Hawaiians were discriminated against in much more subtle, but just as devastating, ways. It was not that overt, but it was just as damaging and insidious. There is a strong reaction in the Hawaiian community today, because now, like the Blacks, the Hawaiians feel that

they have been pushed out to the sea, and they have to fight to survive as a people.

When I listen to all the voices speaking for the Hawaiians, I see that many of our educated Hawaiians (educated in the Western sense) tend to resolve issues and work within the system, the colonial system, to resolve Hawaiian problems. But this cannot come out right, because the system was not designed to correct the problems of Hawaiians, but to retain control of us. Many of those Hawaiian leaders working within the system will not speak out, because they are dependent upon fundings or resources, so they play along with the system that really works against the interests of the general Hawaiian public. The ones who really speak with strong voices are people of the soil, the grassroots, who are directly impacted. That is why I think, people like Kawaipuna Prejean, Kekuni Blaisdell, Mililani Trask and those others are very important, because a lot of their thinking spring from the grassroots.

Few people – Hawaiians as well as others – are aware that from the illegal invasion, the initial wrong committed by the U.S. government, stems a range of entities, laws, regulations and so on – all set up to legitimize the U.S. power over the Hawaiians. In the process, we Hawaiians have not known that we have been disenfranchised, our rights being stripped away. Even today when the Hawaiian movement towards dignity, decolonization and sovereignty is strong, the dominant power is trying to control the thoughts and actions of Hawaiians by introducing bills of "sovereignty" from above. But if the initital act, on which their power and system is based, is wrong, how can anything after it ever come out right?

We Hawaiians are the legitimate owners of this land, but we have to fight not to lose it entirely. Due to intensive assimilation and colonizing processes, we have been very close to loosing our sense of history and our sense of perspective. Thanks to strong commitment by *kānaka maoli* like Kawaipuna Prejean, our striving towards sovereignty is coming along. My own personal opinion is that only sovereignty can save us from total genocide and destruction.

Note

1. The *kāhuna* were professional people who were scholars in different areas like astrology, astronomy, fishing, land and agriculture, and they were sorcerers too. Eventually they got a bad label. The reason was that the missionaries only focused on the negative aspects of the Hawaiian culture. They conveyed the information that all *kāhuna* were bad – evil – and represented evil.

Kānaka Maoli, Indigenous Hawaiians

By Kekuni Blaisdell and Noreen Mokuau

Contemporary *kānaka maoli* or indigenous Hawaiians (Blaisdell, 1989b) are no longer culturally one people as were their ancestors prior to the arrival of the first foreigners in 1778. Since that fateful time, *kānaka maoli* have become increasingly heterogeneous (Kanahele, 1982; Blaisdell, 1988; Andrade, 1989). Such differences include degree of *kānaka maoli* ancestry; range of traditional Hawaiianness in thought and behavior Western educational and economic status; *'ohana* (family) relationships, housing, land, and ocean access; religious attitudes and political views; health needs; and related psychosocial variables. Much of the variation is the result of the impact of two centuries of Western exploitation with resulting conflict by the dominant *haole* (White) society (Young, 1980; Andrade, 1989; Blaisdell, 1989b).

Thus, overall *kānaka maoli* in the 1990s find themselves a minority at the bottom of a multiethnic hierarchy in their homeland (Native Hawaiian Study Commission, 1983; Thompson, 1983; Alu Like, 1985; Wegner, 1989). Still on top are the *haole* foreigners, while the Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Sāmoans are the other major later ethnic immigrants presently sharing the natural resources of the native host people. In spite of the tragic plight of *kānaka maoli,* a growing number have begun to revitalize their culture. This resurgence, coupled with reempowerment of themselves as the first people of Hawai'i, has come to be known as the Hawaiian Movement (Trask, 1984a).

This article presents information on history, sociodemographics, cultural values, and presenting problems of *kānaka maoli,* it proposes intervention that may enhance the provision of social services to them.

Historical Origins

Kanaka maoli ancestors were 1 of 50 widely dispersed Pacific Oceanic societies later called Polynesians by Westerners (Kirch, 1985). About A.D. 100, these seafaring voyagers, numbering perhaps 100, left their earlier South Pacific island home, now believed to be the Marquesas, to

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settle in a new homeland to the north, subsequently termed Hawai'i. Having survived over 2,000 miles of open sea in double-hulled sailing canoes, they proliferated and formed new nation.

Apparently, these voyagers also continued their north-south ocean journeys until 1200 A.D. and settled on other islands, including Tahiti (Fornander, 1969 [1878-1885]; Emory, 1959; Green, 1974). Thereafter, they remained in complete isolation for about 500 years. In these most secluded of islands, they attained a self-sufficient population of perhaps 1 million and refined a civilization that continues to fascinate the Western world (Stannard, 1988; Mitchell,1982; Bushnell, 1990).

The subsequent 1778 chance arrival of the first foreigners, Captain James Cook and his crew, unleashed five devastating interrelated forces still evident today (Beaglehole, 1967; Blaisdell, 1989c): depopulation; foreign exploitation; cultural conflict; adoption of harmful foreign ways; and neglect, insensitivity, and malice from the ruling establishment.

Depopulation

Hawai'i was rapidly depopulated from the estimated 1 million islanders to a nadir of 40,000 in 1893, the time of the United States' armed landing and overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom (Stannard, 1988; Schmitt, 1977; Nordyke, 1989). Initially this decline was mainly due to introduced contagious infections to which the natives lacked immunity (Schmitt, 1969; Bushnell, 1990). By 1893, the 40,000 *kānaka maoli* were also outnumbered by 50,000 foreigners – 20,000 Whites and 30,000 Asians (Schmitt, 1977). More Asian laborers, imported by the ruling Whites, were to follow (Fuchs, 1961; Daws, 1968; Nordyke, 1989). A slow upturn in the native population began about 1900 due to a rise in the birth rate; however the high infant mortality and death rates continued the progressive decline of the population. Today there are less than 8,000 *piha kānaka maoli* (pure Hawaiians) remaining (Ikeda 1987).

Foreign Exploitation

Many outsiders came, and continue to come, to Hawai'i, not to live as *kānaka maoli* with *kānaka maoli* but to take from the native people and their natural resources. This began at the time of Cook with the replacement of the island subsistence-sharing economy with the for-profit barter and later money economy (Beaglehole, 1967; Trask, 1984a). Firearms, sandalwood, lumbering, whaling, cattle-ranching, Western military threats, and later sugar-growing supplanted the economic control of the ruling *ali'i* (chiefs), and these chiefs quickly became indebted to greedy *haole* merchants (Trask, 1984a; Daws, 1968; Bushnell, 1990).

Western legalized theft of native lands started with the *haole*-designed Māhele of 1848, which created private ownership of land (Kelly, 1980; Kame'eleihiwa, 1986). Within a generation, most of the private lands had passed into *haole* control for their capitalist business ventures. The *'āina* (land) was no longer a sacred trust for all but rather a commodity to serve immediate individual gratification. Loss of the *'āina* and access rights by natives led to disruption of the *'ohana* system and their alienation from the planting, fishing, and gathering ecosystems of their traditional *ahupua'a* (socioeconomic unit and extension of land extending from the ocean to the inland mountain ridge and including at least one valley) (Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 1972; Kame'eleihiwa, 1986; Kelly, 1989).

To these dislocations was added suppression of *kānaka maoli* religion, language, art, dance, music, the lunar calendar, education, and health care. This suppression came about through the influence of the New England Christian missionaries on the ruling *ali'i* after their arrival in 1820 and later through their occupation of key positions in the government that they designed (Kelly, 1988; Stueber, 1982; Tagupa, 1981). Dismantling of the *'ohana* and *kāhuna* (priest) on-the-job-training systems and their replacement by de-Hawaiianizing American classroom methods did not educate *kānaka maoli* for leadership but for subservience to *haole* rule in an un-Hawaiian, and often anti-Hawaiian, society (Fuchs, 1961; Stueber, 1982).

American imperialism culminated in 1893 with the U.S. military invasion of the independent kingdom of Hawai'i and toppling of the native constitutional government (*Executive Document*, 1893). The new *haole* Provisional Government and the succeeding antidemocratic, self-proclaimed Republic of Hawai'i denied voting rights to *kānaka maoli* and other non-Whites based on their alleged racial inferiority (Castle, 1981). The illegal annexation of Hawai'i to the U.S. in 1898 was by congressional resolution rather than by treaty and statute, without the consent of or compensation to *kānaka maoli* and with taking of 2 million acres of native lands and their treasury (Native Hawaiian Study Commission 1983; Trask, 1984a). Exploitation continued after the U.S. establishment of the Territory of Hawai'i under the Organic Act of 1900 and with the establishment of statehood in 1959 because both situations occurred without the expressed approval of the native people.

Cultural Conflict

The pain of cultural conflict was immediately felt by the *kānaka maoli* who met the Cook expedition. The *kānaka maoli* were in conflict because of their attraction to firearms, other metal instruments, large sailing ships, the wheel, leather, clothing textiles, books, and freedom from the punish-

ment of *kapu* (sacred law) violations. In 1819, despairing because the *kapu* were no longer effective, the ruling *ali'i* themselves formally abolished these official sacred laws, which had protected the natural resources and regulated human relationships for the common good (Kame'eleihiwa, 1986, 1992; Bushnell, 1990).

Cultural conflict was also evident in the eagerness with which some *ali'i* pursued material luxury by exploitation of *maka'āinana* (commoner) labor in sandalwood and other trade with Westerners (Kame'eleihiwa, 1986, 1992). Collaboration with foreigners on their terms; invariably resulted in conflicting cultural values (Stueber, 1982). This clash of values resulted in loss of *kanaka maoli* identity and self-esteem. For many, this precipitated feelings of despair and a loss of willingness to live and further contributed to self-destructive behaviors (King, 1987; Andrade, 1989; Blaisdell, 1989c).

Adoption of Harmful Foreign Ways

Besides the vexing antitraditional attitudes described earlier, too many *kānaka maoli* have too eagerly embraced unwholesome Western lifestyles (Alu Like, 1985). These included consumption of tobacco, alcohol, and other toxic substances as well as diets containing saturated fat, cholesterol, sugar, and salt. Along with the consumption of unhealthy foods has come a decrease, in concern for physical fitness. Adoption of other foreign ways has brought about an increasing disrespect for the environment, which has manifested itself in urban crowding, waste, pollution, and destruction of natural resources. Finally, *kānaka maoli* have become less able to cope with their stresses and to rely more heavily on government welfare and support (Blaisdell, 1989c; Andrade, 1989).

Neglect, Insensitivity, and Malice from The Ruling Establishment

The dominant Western society has been generally indifferent to the squalor of *kānaka maoli* and sometimes even hostile toward their culture and practices. Some examples are cited below:

- Since their arrival in 1820, Christian missionaries have regularly denounced the native religion and healing methods (Kame'eleihiwa, 1986, 1992; Bushnell, 1990).
- In 1859, the Queen's Hospital was chartered by the government of the Kingdom to save the *kanaka maoli* race by providing free medical care to "indigent sick and disabled Hawaiians." This service was to be supported by a hospital tax and private subscriptions (Greer, 1969). However, in 1909, eleven years after U.S. annexation, a minority of the all-White hospital board secretly deleted the terms "indigent" and "Hawaiians" from

the hospital charter and ended government responsibility for needy and sick natives (Houston, 1950).

• Mounting pressure from *kānaka maoli* in 1922 led the U.S. Congress to set aside 200,000 acres of "ceded" lands for homesteading by natives with 50 percent or more *kānaka maoli* ancestry. The program failed because mostly third-class raw lands were awarded without adequate infrastructure and financing for housing. Most of the usable lands were commercially leased to non-*kānaka maoli* for income because no govemment funds were provided for administration of the program. In addition, many of the most suitable lands were transferred for other government purposes without payment of rent to the legal native beneficiaries (McGregor, 1990a).

• In 1985 a health study revealed that *kānaka maoli* had the worst health profile since annexation in 1900 (Alu Like, 1985). Top administrators of the State Department of Health were asked: "What are you doing about this?" Their response was: "Our department is color and race blind. [...] If Hawaiians choose not to use our services, the fault is not ours" (Bell, 1985).

The five interrelated historical factors continue in modulated form in the 1990s and contribute to the decline of *piha kānaka maoli* and the social and psychological problems that confront the people.

Sociodemographic Overview

The majority of *kānaka maoli* (204,000 or 68.6 percent) reside in Hawai'i, while an estimated 90,000 (31.4 percent) live abroad in the continental United States, with a large number (50,000) residing in California (Barringer and O'Hagan, 1989). The following sociodemographic data reflect the circumstances of *kānaka maoli* in Hawai'i in 1986. When useful, comparisons between *kānaka maoli* and other ethnic groups residing in Hawai'i, including White, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Sāmoans, are made. Comparisons are occasionally drawn between *piha kānaka maoli* and *hapa kānaka maoli* (part Hawaiian). Unless otherwise noted, most of the information is taken from Herbert Barringer and Patricia O'Hagan's (1989) *Socioeconomic Characteristics of Native Hawaiians.*

Population Census

In 1986, *kānaka maoli* in Hawai'i were estimated to number 204,000. This represented 20 percent of the total state population of 1.024 million (Ikeda, 1987). This population, however, was mostly comprised of *hapa kānaka maoli* (196,400 or 96.2 percent), while *piha kānaka maoli* continued to decline to less than 8,000 (3.8 percent; Ikeda, 1987).

Distribution

Distribution of *kānaka maoli* by island, in descending order, was: O'ahu, 137,500 (67 percent); Hawai'i, 33,000 (16 percent), Maui, 18,800 (9.3 percent); Kaua'i, 10,700 (5.4 percent); Moloka'i, 4,100 (2 percent); Lāna'i, 200; and Ni'ihau, 200 (State of Hawai'i, Department of Health, 1988). Island distribution by proportion of *kānaka maoli*, in descending order was: Ni'ihau, 99 percent; Moloka'i, 60 percent; Hawai'i, 30 percent; Maui, 22 percent; Kaua'i, 22 percent; O'ahu, 17 percent; and Lāna'i, 10 percent (State of Hawai'i, Department of Health, 1986). The highest proportion of all island ethnic groups, 21 percent of *kānaka maoli*, tended to reside in rural areas.

Gender and Age

Gender distribution of *kānaka maoli* since 1950 has been about equal. Only above age 65 do women outnumber men. When comparing *kānaka maoli* with other ethnic groups, they have the youngest age distribution, with a mean age of 24.8 years. However, this younger age distribution reflects the *hapa kānaka maoli* inasmuch as the *piha kānaka maoli* show a mean age of 45.3 years.

Health

In comparison to other ethnic groups in Hawai'i, the birth rate for *kānaka maoli* in 1985 was the highest at 31.5/1,000 births. However, this rate represented the first decline since 1970 when there were 50.9/1,000 births. The overall death rate for *kānaka maoli* in 1985 was the greatest of all ethnic groups at 5.6/1,000. It is noteworthy that *piha kānaka maoli* showed the lowest birth rate (0.8/1,000) and the highest death rate (20/1,000).

Mortality rates continued to be highest for *kānaka maoli* for the major causes of death, namely heart disease, cancer, stroke, accidents, diabetes, and infections (Alu Like, 1985; U.S. Congress, Office of Technology, 1987; Wegner, 1989). Rates for *piha kānaka maoli* were higher than for *hapa kānaka maoli*. Infant mortality was also highest for *kānaka maoli* in comparison with all other ethnic groups in Hawai'i.

Life expectancy at birth in 1980 for *kānaka maoli* was 74 years, the shortest compared to the other ethnic groups (Gardner, 1980, 1984).

Family and Household

Kanaka maoli households were larger (3.4 persons per household) than those of Whites and Japanese but slightly smaller than for Filipinos (3.6 per household). They also had the lowest rate of male householders (56

percent) and the highest rate of female householders with no husbands (21.3 percent). A consistent pattern since 1950, the rate for *kanaka maoli* men marrying non-*kānaka maoli* was the highest (56.5 percent) when compared with men of other ethnic backgrounds. The divorce/annulment rate when compared with other groups was the lowest, in overall rates (11.5 percent) and within-group rates (47 percent). The owner-occupied housing rate for *kānaka maoli* was 47 percent, ranking after Whites, Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese and just ahead of Sāmoans.

Education

When compared with other ethnic groups in Hawai'i, overall educational levels were the lowest for *kānaka maoli*; high school completion, 44.8 percent; some college education, 18.2 percent; college degree, 5.6 percent; and doctoral level completion, 0.8 percent.

Occupations

Kānaka maoli in 1980 had less representation (8 percent) in high prestige, high-salary managerial and professional jobs compared to other ethnic groups. They had greater representation in service positions, such as truck and bus drivers. *Kānaka maoli* ranked highest (35 percent) for proportion not in the labor force and for unemployed (7 percent). Finally, the lowest percentage of privately owned businesses (1.6 percent) was attributed to *kanaka maoli* ownership.

Data on income revealed *kānaka maoli* to have the lowest average incomes; mean personal income of $12,300, mean household income of $19,501, mean family income of $19,800, and mean female household income of $12,000. They had the highest rate of poverty (14.3 percent) when compared with other ethnic groups in Hawai'i.

Interestingly, the 1980 Census data for the continental U.S. *kānaka maoli* were similar to those for island Hawaiians (Barringer and O'Hagan, 1989). This is surprising because migration from Hawai'i to the continent is usually associated with better job opportunities. However, it appears that migration to the continental United States did not result in better incomes inasmuch as both personal and household incomes in Hawai'i and the continental United States were the same.

Worldviews and Behavioral Norms

Traditionally, *kānaka maoli* trace their origins to Kumulipo[1] (dark source), with the mating of Wākea, the sky father, to Papa, the earth mother, from

which everything in the cosmos was born and continues to be derived (Johnson, 1982). Great men became chiefs, and great chiefs became gods (Buck, 1939). But then, even honored *kūpuna* (ancestors or elders) of *maka'āinana* became *'aumākua* or ever-present family guardian gods. Countless spiritual forces appeared as *kinolau* (many forms), not only as departed or present *kānaka maoli* but as plants, animals, rocks, rain clouds, and winds. Indeed, the entire cosmos was living, conscious, and communicating (Malo, 1951; Kamakau, 1964; Handy, 1927; Handy and Pukui, 1958; Luomala, 1989). Because of common parentage from Wākea and Papa, the *kānaka maoli* considered the individual *lōkahi* (united) with all in the cosmos.

Gods by definition had greater inherent *mana* (specific quantifiable energy) than *kānaka maoli*. The *ali'i* had greater *mana* by birth than *maka'āinana*. However, even *maka'āinana* could acquire *mana* by developing the skills of a master navigator, fierce warrior, productive fisherman, talented chanter, or effective healer (Handy and Pukui, 1958; Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, 1972; Pukui, Haertig, Lee, and McDermott, 1979).

Pālua (dualism) of complementary opposites was also recognized, such as sky and earth, day and night, sun and moon, male and female, right and left, fire and water, material and spiritual, health and illness, good and evil, and life and death (Handy, 1927; Luomala, 1989). *Pono* or proper order or harmony of these interacting, cyclic, and opposing forces, required conscious effort of each individual *kānaka maoli*. Thus, continuous informal communication with self, one's *'aumākua* and all of nature was punctuated by daily formal rituals (Handy, 1927; Handy and Pukui, 1958). *Kapu* established by the *kāhuna* (priest specialists), sanctioned by the ruling *ali'i* and enforced by all, was society's way of preserving *pono* for the common good (Handy, 1927; Pukui et al., 1979; Kame'eleihiwa, 1986, 1992).

Imbalance of *mana* or loss of *pono* accounted for misfortune, such as illness, sparse catch of *i'a* (fish), or crop failure (Handy, 1927; Pukui et al., 1972; Pukui et al., 1979). While there was collective *lōkahi* and interdependence with self, others, and all of nature, nevertheless, individual self-reliance was expected (Pukui et al., 1972; Pukui et al., 1979).

Each child was a precious *pua* (flower) assuring perpetuation of the race. *Mākua* (adults) were the providers, and the *kūpuna* were esteemed.

Death after a meaningful life was welcomed as a reunion with one's departed *kūpuna* in the eternal spiritual *ao* (realm). Death also signified the completion of a recurring cycle of rebirth and transfiguration into *kinolau* or reincarnation into other human forms (Kamakau, 1964; Pukui et al.,

1972; Pukui et al., 1979). Thus, the *kānaka maoli* considered the self during his or her *ola* (individual physical existence) as part of a continuum extending from the *kūpuna* to the present *'ohana* and nature, and to the *kamali'i* (offspring) and *mamo* (succeeding generations). An individual alone, without these relationships, was "unthinkable" (Handy and Pukui, 1958).

The traditional law of the land was *aloha 'āina* or *mālama 'āina* (love and care for the land) (Handy and Pukui, 1958; Kame'eleihiwa, 1986; McGregor, 1990b). The resources of the *'āina* nurtured *kānaka maoli*, and thus it was the responsibility of *kānaka maoli* to care for the *'āina* for future generations. *Kānaka maoli* were stewards, not private owners, of the *'āina*. Their subsistence economy required mutual *mālama* (caring). The fisherman provided his catch not only for himself but for everyone in the *ahupua'a*. Similarly, the taro planter shared the harvest, and the *mauka* (upland) forester supplied wood for fellow *ahupua'a* residents (Handy and Pukui, 1958; Handy et al., 1972). To intentionally harm others or anything in nature was to harm oneself.

This ideal of pursuing harmonious relationships (*pono*) amongst themselves and all in their environment was manifest in the temperament of the natives as recorded by the earliest writers. Cook's journals describe the disposition of the islanders in a positive manner as hospitable, friendly, and cheerful (Beaglehole, 1967). Samuel M. Kamakau, a pioneer native historian, referred to pre-Western *kānaka maoli* as "a strong and hard-working people, skilled in crafts and possessed of much learning. In hospitality and kindness they excelled" (Kamakau, 1961:237).

Contact with the non-*kānaka maoli* world beginning in 1778 shattered the foregoing holistic views and practices of the island natives. Cultural conflict with Western domination and exploitation led to rapid discarding of many of the old beliefs and ways previously described. Thus, today, few modern *kānaka maoli* are familiar with many of the traditions sketched in historical accounts (Pukui et al., 1972; Pukui et al., 1979). Nevertheless, every *kānaka maoli* who identifies as one, and especially the rural native who has been able to remain close to the *'āina*, retains some remnants of the old concepts in his or her bones, although the ability to articulate these concepts may be lacking.

Cultural conflict results in a daily struggle within the self. Traditional values call for group affiliation, sharing with others, caring for nature working together in the *'ohana* system for common goals, spiritual oneness with land, and respect for the inherent value of everything in the cosmos. In contrast the necessity for survival in the dominant Western

world demands individual competitive assertion for personal power, exploitation of others, materialism, commercialization of native culture, waste pollution, and destruction of the *'āina* and other natural resources (Trask, 1984a; Aluli, 1988; McGregor, 1990b).

The constant pressure by the dominant Western society on *kānaka maoli* to assimilate always carries the guilt of betrayal to the ways of native ancestors (Kanahele 1990). Cultural pluralism, so popularly promoted in the communications media and Western schools, with its promise of "equal opportunity," has a hollow ring when it demands compliance to the *haole*, not *kanaka maoli*, frame of reference. The tragedy becomes amplified with the recognition that forced assimilation occurs in the *kānaka maoli*'s own homeland. Non-*kānaka maoli* in Hawai'i have their ethnic roots in their homelands elsewhere. *Kānaka maoli* have no other homeland than Hawai'i. Yet, in their native land they are compelled to behave as non-*kānaka maoli* Westerners in order to survive (Kame'eleihiwa, 1986, 1992; Blaisdell, 1989a; 1989b).

The varying intensities of cultural conflict account for three main, yet sometimes overlapping, subsets of modern *kānaka maoli* (Blaisdell, 1988):

1. One is the growing assortment of assimilated *kanaka maoli*-Americans. Many of these people are ashamed and afraid to be *kānaka maoli*. They admit to being *kānaka maoli* only when it is convenient. Mostly urban, including many in the continental United States, they are so de-Hawaiianized and Westernized that they are usually indistinguishable from *haole* in thinking and behavior. Looking to the continental United States as their ideal, they seem oblivious of the injustices to, and the resulting agony of, the majority of their fellow *kānaka maoli*.

2. Second is a large category of *kanaka maoli* pluralists. That is, those bicultural *kānaka maoli* who perceive themselves as another of the several minorities with "equal opportunity" in Hawaiian multiracial society. However, they do not seem to realize that opportunities are really not equal because the governing system is Western, not *kanaka maoli*, and indeed it continues to be anti-*kanaka maoli*.

3. Third is a recently expanding, loose coalition of *kānaka maoli* by ancestry and conviction. These are *kanaka maoli* nationalists. Many are rural; others are college educated. Joined by some non-*kanaka maoli* supporters, they are revitalizing their traditional culture and empowering themselves to relieve the suffering of their people.

Profile of Social and Psychological Problems and Issues

The historical and other background information cited in the previous sections has remained little known and only as scattered fragments until recently. This information was largely hidden from public awareness because of the official policy of the dominant Western society to promote assimilation of *kānaka maoli* and other non-White islander minorities (Fuchs, 1961; Daws, 1968; Stueber, 1982; Trask, 1984a). However, *kanaka maoli* unrest in the 1980s resulted in several published assessments on the status of *kānaka maoli*. One of these, the 1985 E Ola Mau *Mental Health Task Force Report*, identifies six major problems in the psychosocial profile of the native islanders: alcohol and other substance abuse, family violence, crime, school alienation, psychological disorders, and suicide (Alu Like, 1985; Takeuchi et al, 1987).

While multiple causal factors underlie these problems, public attention has increasingly focused on cultural conflict and resulting despair as the genesis of such problems in *kānaka maoli*. Recommendations for culturally sensitive, trained personnel and programs represent a new direction that has increasingly drawn greater support (Mokuau, 1985, 1987, 1990a, 1990b; Andrade, 1989; E Ola Mau, 1990). Supporting data on problem areas experienced by *kānaka maoli* are uneven; the following sections profile three problems, on which some data are available, commonly associated with this population.

Family Violence: Child Abuse

In 1987, children of *kanaka maoli* ancestry had the highest number of cases per year of confirmed abuse and neglect cases (621, 25 percent) when compared with children of other ethnicities in Hawai'i (State of Hawai'i, Department of Human Services, 1988). However, when controlling for population size, *kānaka maoli* rank second to Sāmoans for cases of abuse and neglect. In an earlier study by G. W. Starbuck, N. Krantzier, K. Forbes, and V. Barnes (1984), it was reported that associated risk factors for child abuse and neglect included young maternal age and low socioeconomic status. These factors suggest stressful home factors and a lack of *'ohana* network to provide support in child-rearing (Dubanoski, 1982).

Severe child abuse is at variance with traditional *kānaka maoli* practices (Pukui et al., 1972; Pukui et al., 1979). The few reported studies in modern rural communities indicate that discipline of children is viewed as an *'ohana* duty of the adults. Once beyond toddlerhood, a child is expected to behave well, tend to assigned responsibilities, and respect elders. While harsh

physical punishment may occur for serious infractions, this is unusual, is done openly, and may be performed by any adult in the *'ohana*. Thus, the discipline tends to be mitigated, and serious injury is rare (Korbin, 1990).

Family health education, such as the Kamehameha Schools Kupulani Demonstration Project in Honolulu may provide data to enhance child-care in a culturally appropriate way (Kaaa, 1982). The project assists *kānaka maoli* in nurturing adaptive learning skills and attitudes in their children beginning in pregnancy. The project emphasizes affective as well as cognitive learning, cultural relevance in prenatal and infant care, and continuity.

Crime

In 1979, although *kānaka maoli* were not overrepresented in police pre-trial arrests, with a rate of 15 percent, they had the highest rates for felon conviction and imprisonment (31 percent; Kassebaum, 1987). The more serious the crime or lengthy the incarceration, the higher the percentage of *kānaka maoli*. *Kānaka maoli* were also less likely to be transferred out of prison for psychiatric services, compared to other ethnic groups. More recent data suggest an increase in arrests during the 1980s: *Kānaka maoli* juveniles have the highest rates of arrests in terms of larceny, theft, burglary, assault, and vandalism, and *kanaka maoli* adults have arrest rates second only to Whites (State of Hawai'i, Department of Attorney General, 1988). Low socioeconomic status combined with unemployment, school impairment, and substance abuse are usually linked with crime.

The design and development of criminal justice programs with culturally appropriate intervention is long overdue. One example of a culturally designed program is Ho'ulu Kuahiwi (Let the Mountains Produce), a wilderness program developed and operated by the John Howard Association in Honolulu (Reardon, 1990). The program serves adjudicated youth, primarily of *kanaka maoli* ancestry, and is based on a premise that intervention that is rich in cultural values and traditions best serves the rehabilitation of the youth. Cultural elements that are incorporated into the program include: (a) the focus on the youth in context of the family, (b) appreciation of the *'āina*, and (c) use of *ho'oponopono* (to make right), an indigenous form of dispute resolution.

Suicide

Beginning in 1958, *kanaka maoli* males had the highest suicide rate – for the 1978-1982 period, the rate was 29.2 per 100,000 when compared to other ethnic groups in Hawai'i and in the continental United States (Chiu,

1979; State of Hawai'i, Department of Health 1986). Suicide was especially prominent among males ages 20 to 24, with a rate of 25.8 per 100,000, during the years from 1973 to 1987 (Tseng et al, forthcoming).

The continued high rate of suicide among young *kanaka maoli* males is disturbing. School dysfunction, unemployment, illicit drugs, crime, and lack of proper access to the land and sea for self-support may be significant factors. Psychosocial problems have been analyzed as arising when behavior in the process of conforming to, or deviating from, common cultural values results in maladaptation or ineffective social interactions (McDermott, Tseng, and Maretzki, 1980; Marsella and White, 1982). This pattern of progressive increase in suicide in young males has also been observed in other Pacific Islanders, most notably Micronesians and Sāmoans (Hezel, Rubinstein, and White, 1985).

Evolution of Culturally Sensitive Services

A separate issue aggravating *kanaka maoli* psychosocial problems is the inadequate availability, accessibility, and acceptability of social and related services for *kānaka maoli*. Throughout most of Hawaii's post-Western contact history, government and social services have followed Western patterns, even though most of the clients or beneficiaries have been *kānaka maoli* (Catton, 1959; Kamakahi, 1989). In addition, White, Western-educated professionals have been recruited to *mana*ge these organizations, and they have done so without regard to local cultural needs (Catton, 1959; Higginbotham, 1987; Sanders, 1986).

An encouraging exception occurred during the years 1914 to 1928 when *kanaka maoli* leaders in Honolulu attempted to meet the pressing needs of indigent Hawaiians by founding Ahahui Pu'uhonua (Hawaiian Protective Association) (McGregor, 1990b). Alarmed by the open homelessness, hunger, illness, disability, and drunkenness of *kānaka maoli* in the city's streets, Ahahui Pu'uhonua engaged mainly Hawaiian church-going volunteers to provide health education and family social services for the indigent. Despite the strong motivating factor of ancestral pride of *lōkahi* as a people, Ahahui Pu'uhonua withered away because of a lack of financial support.

A more effective turning point came much later in the 1960s. Political activism of the 1960s served to identify the problems of *kānaka maoli*, renew a sense of cultural pride, and increase demands for improved and appropriate services. Initially fueled by the disenchantment of rural *kanaka maoli* communities with the booming tourist industry and the continual demand for more land for resorts, several concerted efforts

occurred from the 1960s to the 1980s. These changes are suggestive of an evolution of culturally appropriate services.

• In 1962, the Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center collaborated with other organizations to initiate anthropological and psychological field research on *kānaka maoli*. The results included: (a) the provision of training for staff members in culturally sensitive strategies; (b) several publications, especially the best-selling two-volume *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, with noted authorities Mary Kawena Pukui and E. W. Haertig as senior authors; and (c) an increased awareness among the *kanaka maoli* community on the impact of Western culture on their ancestral values and traditions.

• In 1974, the University of Hawai'i, School of Social Work, with support from the Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center, developed a Hawaiian Learning Program. This program was intended to provide culture-specific training to specially recruited *kanaka maoli* students. During a six-year period, the program graduated forty-eight social worker students with masters degrees in social work (Oda, 1974; Apoliona and Keanu, 1976; Higginbotham, 1987).

• Also in 1974, Alu Like, a nonprofit organization eligible to receive federal and other funds for *kānaka maoli* "economic and self-sufficiency," was established.

• In 1978, as a result of a class suit against the State of Hawai'i Department of Health for inadequate services to non-English-speaking residents, an Ethnocultural Task Force was established. It recommended that "services be delivered on the basis of people's cultural needs, and not on the basis of what is convenient for the institution and the service providers" (Higginbotham, 1987).

• During the 1980s, ferment in *kanaka maoli* communities continued. Three reports were to augment the momentum toward reform: (a) The 1983 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project of the Bishop Estates/Kamehameha Schools documented the roles of low socioeconomic status, crosscultural tensions, and ill health of *kanaka maoli* students; (b) the 1983 Native Hawaiian Study Commission Report to the U.S. Congress boldly proposed correction of historical injustices by return of stolen lands to *kānaka maoli* (Native Hawaiian Study Commission, 1983); and (c) the 1985 E Ola Mau Native Hawaiian Health Needs Study provided a comprehensive description of the impoverished health status of *kānaka maoli* (Alu Like, 1985).

Two significant events occurred in the mid- and late 1980s that have had implications for culturally sensitive services. One was the founding in March 1986 of E Ola Mau, an organization of *kanaka maoli* health workers committed to the health of their people. Second was the participation of E Ola Mau and other organizations and individuals in the passage of the Native Hawaiian Health Care Act of 1988 (U.S. Congress, 988). The key provisions, detailed in the sections to follow, were: (a) incorporation of traditional Hawaiian cultural values and practitioners; and (b) empowerment by "maximum participation of Native Hawaiians" in planning and implementing health promotion, disease prevention, and primary health care programs for *kānaka maoli*.

Social Service Intervention

Principles of Practice

Five related principles of practice provide broad guidelines for practitioners working with *kanaka maoli* clients.

1. Assessment of psychosocial problems confronting *kānaka maoli* must go beyond conventional variables. The worker must also investigate evidence of persistent exploitation, cultural conflict, and neglect or abuse by the establishment in each case. This requires awareness and a special body of knowledge and skills that matches the unique needs of the group.

2. In order for intervention to be effective for all *kānaka maoli*, it must operate on at least three levels: (a) with the individual in a one-to-one worker/client relationship; (b) with the identified individual in context of his or her *'ohana*, other concerned parties in the client's social milieu, and relevant community resources; and (c) with the community in terms of the eradication of institutional racism and oppression. This means launching new and effective programs for and by *kānaka maoli* to assure that such services are available, accessible, and acceptable (Alu Like, 1985; Wegner, 1989).

3. Promotion of, support for, and participation in the revitalization of traditional *kanaka maoli* culture are necessary (Young, 1980; Chang, Durante, Nahulu, and Wong, 1980). This is essential to bolster native self-image and to instill a sense of self-confidence that will help *kānaka maoli* cope with life's stresses and in particular to facilitate the resuming of wholesome thinking and ways of their ancestors and to discard self-destructive foreign ways (Alu Like, 1985; Wegner, 1989; E Ola Mau, 1990).

4. Empowerment of individual *kanaka maoli* clients and their *'ohana* in their problem-solving and of *kanaka maoli* community groups in the planning and implementation of culturally competent programs must be fostered. This requires special training of *kanaka maoli* personnel (Alu Like, 1985; Wegner, 1989; U.S. Congress, 1988).

5. Programs must be targeted where the needs are greatest, such as in underserved Hawaiian homestead communities and in urban *kanaka maoli* ghettos (Alu Like, 1985; Wegner, 1989). This requires more effective use of resources originally designated for *kānaka maoli*, including private and public trusts (Native Hawaiian Study Commission, 1983; Alu Like, 1985; Wegner, 1989) and recent legislation (U.S. Congress, 1988, 1990).

Conceptual Models

No single model can be expected to meet the needs of *kānaka maoli* because of the diversity of the people. Rather, models should be individualized depending on the problem, the client, the setting, and the degree and nature of cultural conflict. With these factors in mind, three general models are proposed.

Western Assimilation Model. Assuming that assimilation into the dominant Western mode is the ideal for ethnic minorities, the current American social service system is promoted. Based on professional ideology, with centralized bureaucratic authority, control of resources, and standardization of procedures, the system is staffed by Western-trained, English-speaking workers who expect clients to conform regardless of their cultural heritage (Higginbotham, 1987). Such an approach may be appropriate for Westem-acculturated *kānaka maoli*. A limitation of this model is that it is not appropriate for many *kanaka maoli* clients who maintain traditional cultural perspectives (Alu Like, 1985; Andrade, Blaisdell, Forman, Leung, Matsumoto, and Takeuchi, 1987; E Ola Mau, 1990).

Indigenous Model: Hale Ola. Hale Ola Ho'opakolea healing resource center was designed and established in 1981 to serve the *kānaka maoli* of the Nānākuli-Wai'anae community (Nahulu, 1990). Based on the premise that "people heal themselves through their own cultural patterns," Hale Ola features: (a) traditional *kanaka maoli* holistic cultural values and practices interfacing, as appropriate with the modern Western system; (b) a staff of Western-trained but culturally competent *kanaka maoli* professionals and paraprofessionals and a referral system of traditional healers; and (c) a community-controlled entity with support from private and

government sources (Higginbotham, 1987; Nahulu, 1990). Such a model may be appropriate for traditional or bicultural *kanaka maoli* clients. Major limitations of this model include overwhelming community needs, inadequate financial resources, and limited trained personnel.

Health System Model: Native Hawaiian Islandwide Health Model. The U.S. Congress Native Hawaiian Health Care Act of 1988 advocates the raising of the health status of *kānaka maoli* to the highest possible level and encourages maximum participation of *kānaka maoli* to achieve this objective (U.S. Congress, 1988). The health system model calls for: (a) nine islandwide community-based health systems established by *kanaka maoli* organizations; (b) incorporation of traditional healing concepts and practitioners; and (c) coordinated administration, planning, training, and evaluation by a five-member board called Papa Ola Lōkahi. Major limitations of this model include a lack of trained *kanaka maoli* personnel and insufficient funds to assure success and long-term commitment (E Ola Mau, 1990).

Specific Skills

Relationship Development. Knowledge and skills in the broad spectrum of contemporary *kanaka maoli* thinking and behavior are basic. This begins with "entry etiquette." Many *kānaka maoli* are generally sensitive to pretense, "phoniness," and attempts to set oneself apart and above. Appearance should be simple and modest. This type of modesty may be reflected by female workers by wearing no hats, no heels, and no excessive makeup or jewelry. For men, this may translate to no coats, no ties, and no fancy automobiles (Chang et al., 1980; Nahulu, 1990).

While the initial appointment by telephone may succeed with Western acculturated *kānaka maoli*, going to the client's home to "talk story" enhances rapport with many *kānaka maoli* in need of social services. Talk story is informal dialog that may involve the use of Pidgin (Hawaiian-Creole-English) words, joking, personal disclosures, folk tales, and verbal play to promote shared feelings (Howard, 1974; Boggs, 1985). Through this medium, the client tests the worker's degree of appreciation of ancestral *kanaka maoli* values that persist in modern times. These include *'ohana* and *lāhui* (nation, race) affiliation, respect for elders, assigned *kuleana* (responsibilities) for each member of the *'ohana*, affection for infants, sharing, equality and freedom among peers, and spiritual attachment to the *'āina*, including the sea and, indeed, all of nature (Pukui et al., 1972; Pukui et al., 1979; Ito, 1987). Spiritualism may involve communicating with *'aumākua* (departed ancestral deities) who may reappear as

kinolau, such as the wind, the lizard, or human reincarnations. Communication may be through omens, visions, dreams, voices, or just "feelings" (Pukui et al., 1972; Pukui et al., 1979; Rocha, 1985).

Familiarity with common *kanaka maoli* expressions is essential; however, mastery of the Hawaiian language is rarely necessary at the present time. Very few *kānaka maoli* speak their mother language. It is important to note that a new generation of preschoolers is learning the mother tongue in culture-language immersion programs (Kimura, 1989), and in the near future bilingual workers may be more important.

Problem Assessment and Intervention. Problem assessment calls for skills in identifying the underlying factors responsible for the presenting problem, and intervention requires the formulation of an effective plan with the client and *'ohana* for dealing with these factors. Skill in probing in culturally acceptable ways, skill in dealing with traumatic cultural conflict, and skill in devising realistic, constructive steps toward resolution usually involve two kinds of changes. First, the client and *'ohana* may need to conform in order to cope with the dominant Western system. Second, the established system must be made to respect the basic right of the native people to live their own way in their own homeland, as long as it is not harmful to themselves and others. Thus, the worker must simultaneously use his or her skills as a patient teacher or coach with skills of an activist and advocate.

Indigenous healing methods, such as *ho'oponopono* or structured family sessions, *kāhea* (calling for a response), *lā'au* (medicinal herbs), *lomilomi* (massage), and *hāhā* (palpation), may be helpful. In such instances, specially trained resource persons may be engaged (Pukui et al., 1972; Pukui et.al. 1979; Mokaua 1990a, 1990b).

Conclusion

Kānaka maoli, when compared to other ethnic groups in their own homeland, continue to have the worst overall profile of socioeconomic and health needs. This painful status is largely the outcome of native depopulation, beginning over 200 years ago, followed by foreign overpopulation, exploitation, cultural conflict, native acquisition of harmful foreign ways, and negligence and sometimes malice by the dominant society. The major presenting problems and issues demand social service intervention that is undergirded by an awareness of the historical origins of many problems, a promotion of culturally appropriate solutions, and the empowerment of

kanaka maoli clients. In addition to the treatment of problems that already exist, the social service provider must also address prevention efforts designed to stop and reverse the effects of institutional racism and exploitation. Such recommendations are ambitious and formidable, but they represent a challenge to the *kānaka maoli* who have already begun to mobilize in partnership with social service providers to enhance services in the 1990s and beyond.

Note

1. The name of a chant thought to be composed about A.D. 1700, but not recorded until 1881 and first translated into English by Queen Lili'uokalani in 1897.

Mālama i Kekāhi i Kekāhi

Take Care of One, Take Care of All

By L. Ku'umeaaloha Gomes

The *kānaka maoli* (Indigenous Hawaiians) of today live in what is referred to by the Hawai'i state Department of Health as the "Healthy State" because of its many accomplishments, such as the State Health Insurance Program that provides universal access to health insurance for its residents who are uninsured. In addition, the Department of Health boasts of a sterile needle exchange program that has been responsible for bringing into treatment a significant amount of hard core drug users. Another accomplishment, the "Healthy State" claims, is to be the first state to have an asbestos management plan for all of its schools, both public and private (Hawai'i Department of Health 1991).

Many *kānaka maoli* question the label "Healthy State." The statistics show that their health condition is worse than for any other ethnic group, or groups combined, in Hawai'i. *Kānaka maoli* find that they are often the subjects of conversations relating to socioeconomic and health statistics that show the picture of a people in poor health, lacking in higher education, unable to compete in the job market, homeless, incarcerated, and exhibiting high health risk behaviors such as cigarette smoking and alcohol and drug abuse (Wegner 1989). Once a thriving people who shared their land with foreigners who had none on which to grow their crops, *kānaka maoli* now find themselves without adequate housing, or enough money to provide for nutritious diets for their families.

The Indigenous people of Hawai'i, proud of their ancestry, tell a story of a sturdy Polynesian race, in an island nation, regulated by a strict system of rules designed to distinguish men's and women's roles and the different classes of people. These *kānaka maoli* were noted navigators and were also skilled at constructing sophisticated systems of garden terraces and waterways for irrigating their crops. Their language was unwritten and those who were trained to carry on the oral tradition could recite many generations of their genealogy and the history of their people. They practiced *pono* (harmony and balance) with everyone and everything in the universe, as expressed by the saying, "*Mālama i kekāhi i kekāhi*" ("We take care of one, we take care of all").

With the arrival of the first Europeans, the Indigenous people of Hawai'i began to experience significant changes in their health, lifestyle, and government. The Europeans brought with them diseases for which the

people of Hawai'i were unprepared which resulted in the devastation of the population (Stannard 1989).

Pukui astutely relates that the diseases, which were familiar to the Hawaiians prior to arrival of the foreigners were not as devastating to the populace as those that were introduced:

"Lawelawe li'ili'i ka make a ka Hawai'i, lawe nui ka make a ka haole" (Death by Hawaiians takes a few at a time; death by foreigners takes many) (Pukui 1983).

An example of an introduced disease is leprosy. In the Hawaiian language – which is demonstrative and describes an item or personalizes an event – leprosy (Hansen's disease) is called *ma'i ho'oka'awale* (the separating sickness). *Kānaka maoli* named this disease according to their experience of the mandate by the Hawai'i Board of Health, which, between 1866 and 1969, stipulated that individuals with leprosy be isolated. It is interesting to note that for the *kānaka maoli* the disfigurement of the individual caused by the disease, did not impact on the families as much as the emotional pain they experienced at not being able to care for their sick and by being separated from their loved ones (Gugelyk & Bloombaum 1979).

The introduction of a Western political and economic system brought with it drastic changes for *kānaka maoli* as they were introduced to private land ownership with the implementation of new land laws in the mid-1800s (Kelly 1956). These laws resulted in land being transferred from *kānaka maoli* to foreigners. Eventually, these foreigners, with assistance from the U.S. marines, overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893.

In the 1980s, with their health condition a primary concern, *kanaka maoli* health professionals lobbied the U.S. congress to release funds to address their health needs. This resulted in the Native Hawaiian Health Care Act of 1988, designed to establish a statewide health care system focused on improving the health condition of the Native Hawaiians (Papa Ola Lokahi 1990).

Unfortunately, however, the Native Hawaiian Health Care Act, like many congressional mandates, assists in masking the real problems related to *kanaka maoli* health. In merely addressing the health conditions and the diseases of *kānaka maoli* from an epidemiological perspective (population incidence, frequency and prevalence rates), the causal relationship between health and economics is denied.

Statistics show that *kānaka maoli* are high on welfare rolls and 38% of the income bracket 10,000 dollars and below. As the income levels increase, the number of *kānaka maoli* decreases, while the number of

people in other ethnic groups increases (Papa Ola Lokahi 1990). Twenty-eight percent of the homeless population are *kānaka maoli*, and 32% of this are families with children (Homeless Aloha, Inc. 1990).

If the correlation between the *kanaka maoli* socioeconomic status and their poor health is not made, these people will continue to suffer as they do, while programs designed to help them will only encourage their dependence on a system that provides them with handouts rather than addresses the real problem of the inequitable distribution of resources in society. Without land, jobs, or adequate financial resources, the *kānaka maoli* will be unable to address their nutritional needs, to improve their diets, and to decrease the high incidence of heart diseases, diabetes, breast cancer, dental caries and more.

Kanaka maoli men and women want to improve their situations and be able to provide for their families. They have traditionally, in their own land, been a productive people, but now, without their land base or jobs to support them, they are barely able to survive.

With the focus of the Native Hawaiian Health Care Act on behavioral health risk factors, the myth of "blaming the victim" is perpetuated, as the individual is burdened with the responsibility to improve his/her health status by not smoking cigarettes or consuming alcohol, and by eating healthy, nutritious food. This policy is one of the greatest threats to the health of *kānaka maoli*, and it contributes to alienating one group of *kānaka maoli* from another, as the wealthier ones profess that they are doing something for themselves, while those who are poorer are not.

Although many *kānaka maoli* understand that one of the ways of improving their socioeconomic status is through higher education, they are restricted from this because of the lack of financial resources and, thus, *kānaka maoli* remain under-represented among professionals with advanced degrees.

Despite government interventions that appear to support the status quo of keeping *kānaka maoli* in a position of inferiority in their own land, the future of *kānaka maoli* is a hopeful one from the standpoint of a people who are actively involved in determining their own future. Throughout Hawai'i there is an active movement to link health and education with economics. *Kānaka maoli* involved in government, education, health, and land development focus on sovereignty and the return of the Indigenous Hawaiian land base (McGregor 1992a).

With an increased awareness of how the capitalistic system of the United States contributes to the unequal distribution of resources in health, education, jobs and housing, *kānaka maoli* and the larger Hawaiian community can work in a concerted effort to strive for a healthy Hawai'i for all.

The Politics of Oppression

By Mililani B. Trask

Long before the American forces overthrew the Kingdom of Hawai'i and its peaceful Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, American businessmen, missionaries and politicians had conspired to destroy the subsistence economy and religious underpinnings of the Native Hawaiian people and to usurp their sovereignty.

Cloaked in the ideology of Manifest Destiny, United States of America's expansionism was furthered by official U.S. policies which justified the systematic extermination of the Indigenous peoples of America, Indians and Hawaiians alike. The ground work laid by the ideology of Manifest Destiny is revealed in the contemporary figuration of world power in the Pacific region where U.S. continues to assert control over the Indigenous peoples and lands of Sāmoa, Hawai'i, Guam, the Federated States of Micronesia and Puerto Rico (Trask 1992).

A History of Political Betrayal

In 1778 when the *haole* (White man) James Cook "discovered" the Sandwich Islands there were 800,000 to 1 million Native Hawaiians residing in the Hawaiian Archipelago (Stannard 1989). By 1842, the population had declined by 90%. It was at this time that U.S. president Tyler enunciated the infamous "Tyler Doctrine" declaring to European powers that Hawai'i was in the U.S. sphere of influence. This executive policy statement was supported by the U.S. Congress House Committee on Foreign Affairs which declared that the U.S. should acknowledge their own national interests by "virtual right of conquest" (Trask 1992).

During the next three decades which followed Tyler's declarations, U.S. businessmen and sugar planters lobbied for annexation of the Hawaiian Archipelago to avoid U.S. sugar tariffs. By 1877, the U.S. minister to Hawai'i considered the Hawaiian Islands as "an American colony in all material and political interests" (ibid.).

During the 1860s and 1870s it became evident that the U.S. interest in the Hawaiian Archipelago were twofold. Firstly, lucrative economic ventures to the sugar trade, trans-Pacific travel, fishing, whaling and the sandalwood trade were well established. Secondly, the strategic position

of Hawai'i for military purposes had been realized. Indeed most scholars agree that *haole* American merchants forced the Bayonet Constitution on Kalākaua, Hawai'i's monarch, in order to secure the Reciprocity Treaty of 1887 by which Pearl Harbor was ceded to the U.S. in exchange for duty free sugar transport – the treaty benefited American businessmen and the U.S. military to the determent of the Native people and their sovereign government (ibid.).

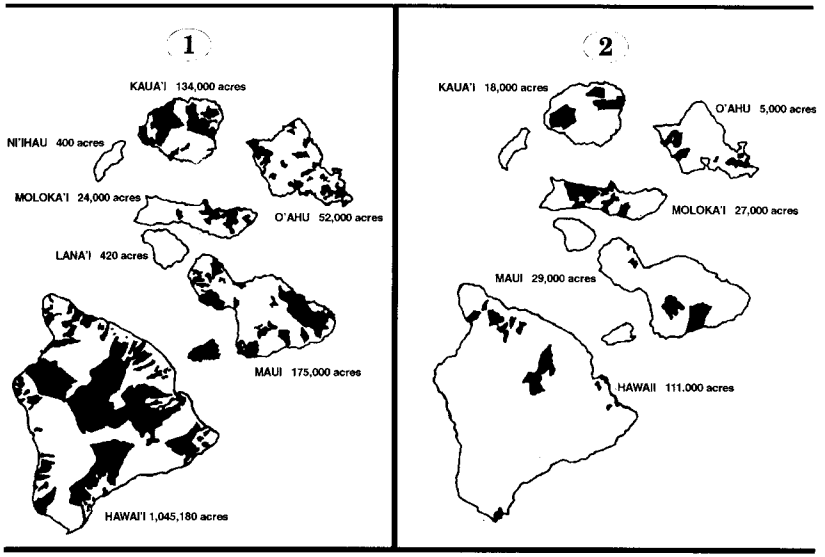
In 1893, the stage was set for the illegal overthrow of the kingdom by the U.S. military forces in violation of existing international treaties and conventions between the U.S. and the kingdom. The economic and military incentives which led to and culminated in the overthrow of the sovereign Hawaiian nation and the establishment by the U.S. of the Dole Provisional government continue to be the same motive forces oppressing Hawai'i's people today.

The Lies of Annexation and Statehood

The record reflects that the debate over Hawai'i's annexation occurred amidst a flurry of political and racist concerns and that the issues of self-governance and self-determination of Native Hawaiians were raised both by the Native people and by constitutional scholars. George T. Curtis and Thomas Cooley, both preeminent jurists and experts in constitutional law, argued that annexation could not be achieved since the Native population had not consented to or been consulted by the Dole "Provisional Government." The U.S. press published various articles relating to the moral issue of whether the U.S. could accept "stolen property." In the U.S. Congress, the debates contain diatribes about inferiority and ignorance of Hawai'i's Native people and its Asiatic population (Native Hawaiians Study Commission 1983 II:Chapter 5).

In September 1896, resolutions representing the opposition of Native Hawaiians to annexation were sent to Congress. The first proposal for annexation was defeated in the U.S. Senate, but by spring 1898, the U.S. Congress was considering Hawai'i's annexation in light of the Spanish-American War, expanding trade in Asia and tensions in China. Annexationists argued that the U.S. could secure permanent rights to Pearl Harbor and other military bases through annexation. In order to further its military designs, the U.S. Congress abandoned its own constitutional provisions in 1898. Hawai'i was not to be admitted into the Union by the agreement of the U.S. Executive and the U.S. Senate and the Natives of the Republic as provided for under the constitutional treaty making power.

THE TWO NATIVE HAWAIIAN PUBLIC LAND TRUSTS



The two Native Hawaiian public land trusts. 1: "ceded" lands; and 2: Hawaiian Home Lands. Reprinted from Ka Lāhui Hawai'i 1991.

Hawai'i became a territory by joint resolution of Congress, but – unlike Texas which was allowed to approve the joint resolution for its annexation by plebiscite – the Native Hawaiian population would not be allowed a plebiscite. These political and unconstitutional machinations achieved annexation of Hawai'i in August 1898 (ibid.).

Subsequent to annexation, the United States obtained over 2 million acres of *ceded* Native lands. During the territorial era, all officials who controlled the government in Hawai'i were appointed by the U.S. In order to create the impression that the U.S. did respect and recognize the Natives' rights to their ancestral lands, and for the purpose of responding to the local, national and international outrage which accompanied Hawai'i's annexation, the U.S. impressed the ceded lands which it had stolen from Hawai'i's Native people with a "special trust" in behalf of the "inhabitants of Hawai'i" (ibid.).

In 1920 and later, at the time of statehood in 1959, this "special trust" would emerge in the form of two public trusts alledgedly created to "better the conditions of Native Hawaiians."

The Homestead Trust

During the territorial era, the U.S. Congress created the Hawaiian Home Lands Trust for the ostensible purpose of "rehabilitating" Native Hawaiians. In order to minimize benefits to the Native population, Congress defined a "native" as someone with 50% or more Hawaiian blood. History records that the actual incentive for passage of the Act was to secure for the American businessmen vast acreage of prime farmland which the territory had leased to sugar barons. The Hawaiian Homestead Act of 1920 excluded these lands from homesteading by Natives and provided 200,000 acres of barren rural lands for Native use. No financing for homestead development was ever provided. From 1920 to 1959 the Homestead Program was managed by federal agents. In 1959, the obligation to oversee the program was passed to the state by virtue of Section 4 of the Hawai'i State Admissions Act (Federal-State Task Force 1983).

In December 1991, the Hawai'i Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights published its record of an eleven year investigation into the mismanagement of the Hawaiian Home Lands Trust by the State of Hawai'i and its predecessor the United States. The report entitled *A Broken Trust* documented 70 years of federal and state failure to protect the civil rights of Hawaiian people (Dulles 1991). Investigative reports by the *Wall Street Journal* (Faludi 1991), *Common Cause* (Novak 1989), and the *Reader's Digest* (Faludi 1992) magazines have published scandalous exposés regarding mismanagement of the Home Lands Trust. The above articles and report document illegal uses and transfers of thousands of acres of Hawaiian Home Lands for U.S. military bases, public schools and facilities, parks and county projects. Also exposed were several sweetheart leases approved by the state for private parties and politicians who utilized these lands for commercial and industrial purposes and who made exorbitant profits. In 1992, the state itself published a report entitled *Federal Breaches of the Hawaiian Home Lands Trust* (State of Hawai'i, Office of State Planning 1992) documenting illegal fee transfers of Hawaiian Home Lands and numerous other illegal undertakings of the U.S. in violation of the trust. The statistics indicate that in the seventy years since passage of the Act, less than 6,000 Natives have ever received land, 22,000 are on waiting lists for homestead awards and hundreds of homeless Hawaiians live on beaches throughout the state (Dulles 1991). An estimated 30,000 Natives have died waiting for their homesteads.

The Ceded Land Trust

Section 5 of the Hawai'i State Admissions Act imposed a special trust on 1.4 million acres of public lands, reefs and shoals and the revenues and natural resources of these lands. By law, these lands were to be used for the public and for the "betterment of conditions of Native Hawaiians."

Since 1959, the state has refused to segregate the trust lands, assets and revenues or to provide any portion of the trust for Native Hawaiians. All of these lands and revenues are utilized for the public and are allocated to support state agencies (Uyehara 1977).

The Politics of Oppression

The tragedy of the Hawaiian people in 1992 provides a clear example of *de facto* and *de jure* racism which is institutionalized and maintained by official governmental policy.

Hawai'i is a one-party state. There has never been a time in Hawai'i's history when a valid two-party system existed. Consequently, the checks and balances provided in the Western Euro-American system are absent in Hawai'i's political environment. Even judicial relief is severely limited for Native plaintiffs.

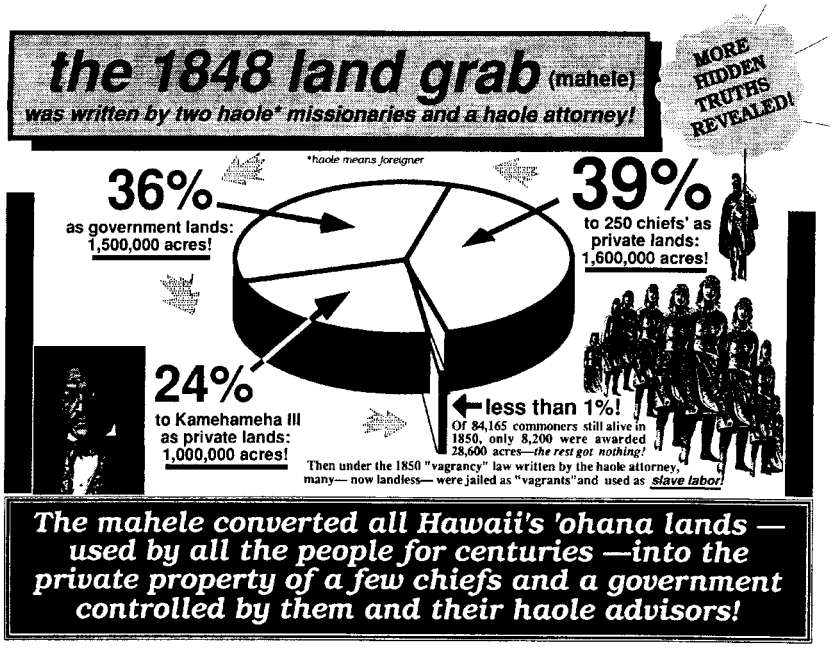
In 1959, the U.S. officially imposed its policy of wardship on Hawai'i's Native population. All other classes of Native Americans (Indian, Inuit, Aleutian, etc.) are afforded the right to form governmental bodies and to exercise jurisdiction over their lands and natural resources. Federal statutes provide other Native Americans with the ability to obtain judicial review and redress in federal courts. Over 500 Native American nations exist in the continental United States. These nations receive federal financial support, enjoy tax exemptions and exercise taxing authority to generate revenues needed for Native self-sufficiency and self-governance (Trask & Uyehara 1990). Hawaiians are denied these benefits. Under the U.S. policy of imposed wardship, Hawaiians are treated as beneficiaries of the state. Their vast trust lands and assets are controlled by state agencies and their fundamental right to self-governance is denied. State and federal agents and the powerful Democratic Party have developed public facilities and utilized thousands of acres of Hawaiian trust lands for expanding the U.S. military complex and its "star wars" initiative.

Hawaiians are not allowed access to the federal district court for judicial review on issues relating to breach of trust. For over ten years Hawaiian Natives have lobbied and advocated for the establishment of Right-to-Sue legislation to allow them to litigate issues relating to illegal uses of their

Native lands and to compel the distribution of their lands and assets to them. The history of this political struggle provides a sterling example of the collusion between state and federal democrats within the system (Dulles 1991).

In 1983, the *Federal State Task Force on Hawaiian Home Lands Report* was issued. It documented the severity of mismanagement of the Home Lands Trust and recommended that laws be enacted to provide Hawaiians with the ability to sue both the state and federal governments in state and federal courts. For eight years Native Hawaiians carried legislation seeking to establish their right to sue the state. Their measure was supported by numerous community groups including the American Civil Liberation Union (ACLU) and various church organizations. The democratic executive and legislature killed the measure and, in 1989, adopted a statute allowing Native plaintiffs to sue, but preventing them from winning. The provisions of the Native Hawaiian Judicial Relief Act provide that if a Native plaintiff wins in court, the state court judge *must* return any benefit in land or money to the agencies which act as trustees. The state legislature reasoned that since Hawaiians were wards of the state, any successful litigant should be made to "rehabilitate" the trust. Under the terms of this law, the 22,000 families awaiting trust entitlements would have their land awards returned to the state if they were successful in court (Dulles 1991).

Efforts to obtain judicial redress through the passage of federal legislation have been derailed by Hawai'i's powerful senator Dan Inouye who sits on 12 Senate committees relating to federal military appropriations and military procurement. Inouye's personal involvement in the issue has been the subject of national news coverage. For over ten years, Inouye has prevented the introduction of legislation allowing Hawaiians to access the federal courts. Inouye's refusal to initiate and support such legislation is directly related to policies of the U.S. and the state democrats who continue to utilize Native lands for public and military purposes. Senator Inouye has personally assisted various branches of the U.S. military in obtaining Hawaiian trust lands, rent free. These agreements were prepared by the U.S. Department of Justice and the state attorney general. Inouye has also expressed his support for continued state control over Native assets. In 1988, when Native rights advocates wrote to Inouye requesting he introduce legislation providing them the right to sue the state for breach of Ceded Lands Trust, Inouye responded that the state governor had asked him not to proceed, because the governor was working with the state Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) to "resolve the Ceded Lands



Graphics: Maka'āinana Media.

question which hopefully will [...] preclude the need for a Right-to-Sue Bill" (Dulles 1991). Less than one year later, the state democratic governor concluded a settlement with OHA, whereby OHA waived all Native claims to the Ceded Lands Trust in return for a payment to itself of 111 million dollars. The settlement was approved by the state legislature. The Native beneficiaries who were dispossessed of their land and trust entitlements were not allowed to approve the settlement and were unable to litigate its validity.

The Continuing Conspiracy to Violate Human and Civil Rights

As public outrage and Native civil disobedience have escalated, the state and federal governments through political agents, have undertaken oppressive and violent retaliatory actions and have initiated efforts to divest Native Hawaiians of their trust assetts.

In the last ten years, Hawaiians protesting illegal public uses of their Home Lands in Hilo and Waimānalo have been beaten, arrested and convicted for trespass. Homeless Hawaiians residing on Ceded and Hawaiian Home Lands at Sandy Beach, Makapu'u and Anahola have been

evicted, their homes destroyed and their children placed in non-Native foster homes. The state and the federal governments have created an interagency SWAT team, heavily armed with automatic weapons and helicopters, and have utilized this paramilitary force against Hawaiians on the Waimānalo Homestead, at Hilo Airport's Home Lands and in 1992 at 'Iolani Palace. In order to maintain their control over Native Hawaiians and their land holdings, senator Inouye and the state democrats have resorted to other unorthodox practices including the use of strong armed protection for hire organizations.

As pressure for change mounts in Hawai'i and the national and international media coverage continue to focus on the issue, the state and federal governments have undertaken a political strategy to divest Native Hawaiians of their public trust assets.

In 1991 and 1992, the state Hawai'i legislature approved settlements of all interagency claims against the state for misuse of the Hawaiian Home Lands and Ceded Land Trusts. These executive settlements were negotiated between the Governor's Office and the trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the commissioners of the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL). These negotiations were conducted behind closed doors in violation of the State Sunshine Law. As stated earlier, the state OHA relinquished claim to the Ceded Land Trust for a lump sum of payment of 111 million dollars in cash, of which only 5 million dollars has actually been paid. The majority of the board trustees of OHA were not notified of the agreement until it was published in the paper. The state legislature approved the settlement with OHA and a record settlement of 12 million dollars with the DHHL commissioners (who are all governor appointees) for illegal state use of Hawaiian Home Lands.

The republican administration in Washington D. C. has responded to the controversy raised by the above events and by the U.S. Civil Rights Report by abandoning the trust obligation to Native Hawaiians. In 1979, when the Civil Rights Commission initiated its investigation of Hawaiian human rights violations, Frederick Ferguson, the deputy solicitor of the U.S. Department of Interior, acknowledged that the U.S. was a trustee for Native Hawaiians. In 1990, the Interior Department retracted this position in testimony before the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. The U.S. currently asserts that it has no obligation to the Native Hawaiian people since the Hawaiian people and their trust assets were given to the state in wardship in 1959 (Dulles 1991:55-57). In 1991, president George Bush refused to provide federal funds for the homestead program. He vetoed two provisions of the National Affordable Housing

Act of 1991 which provided for financing for the homestead, stating that federal benefits for Native Hawaiians were unconstitutional because they favored *one* group on the basis of race. Bush has directed that the Departments of Justice and Interior prepare remedial legislation removing Hawai'i from all federal laws which provide them benefits.

The current position of the state is that all claims against the state for breach of trust have been settled and that the United States should pay the state 10 billion dollars as reparations for the Native people who are state wards. Hawai'i's U.S. senator Dan Inouye and governor John Waihe'e support this position.

The current federal position is that there is no federal obligation to Native Hawaiians and that the United States will not take action on behalf of the Native people.

In light of the history of Hawai'i and the current political environment in the United States, the Hawaiian people have undertaken efforts to regain their sovereignty and to assert their unalienable right to self-governance.

The Sovereign Response

From 1893 to 1987, the Native Hawaiian people sought to obtain redress for the illegal overthrow of the kingdom by advocating for corrective legislation and through other means including acts of civil disobedience.

Following the overthrow of their kingdom, Hawaiians were prevented from speaking their Native language and associating for political purposes. Cultural, religious and traditional practices went underground, and the once rigorous participation of Native people in the political process ceased when oaths of loyalty to the "Provisional Government" were imposed.

Despite the above, Native Hawaiians never abandoned their quest to regain sovereignty and reestablish their nation. In the early territorial period, Hawaiians were active in organizing benevolent societies to perpetuate the presence of the *ali'i* or traditional ruling chiefs. Although these groups exercised no political power, they were visible and active in the social fabric of the Native community.

Throughout the 1920s, political activity focussed on the scandalous creation of the Hawaiian Home Lands Trust. When word that a Congressional deal had been struck to provide Natives with the poorest, arid land, over 1000 Natives demonstrated in anger on O'ahu Island.

Numerous efforts evolved to seek redress for Native claims throughout the 1930 and 1940s. In the advent of impending statehood, many Hawai-

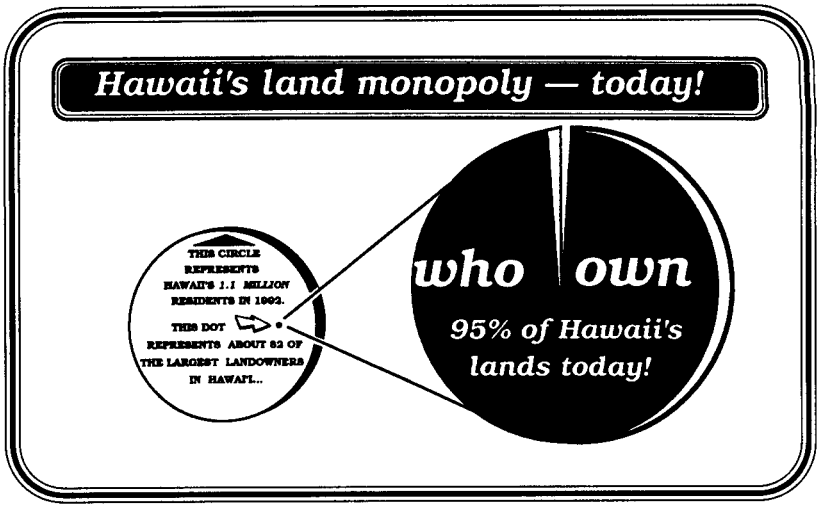
ians organized opposition to the statehood movement and supported independent status for Hawai'i.

The United Nations listed Hawai'i as a non-self-governing territory until the U.S. incorporated Hawai'i as a state in 1959. Pursuant to the U.N. requirements, the U.S. transmitted summaries of information to the U.N. on Hawai'i's status. These summaries reveal that the U.S. had initiated efforts to create a state constitution as early as 1950. These reports are conspicuously devoid of any information relating to the status of Native Hawaiians. The transmittal of 1952 alludes to the fact that there are no "serious" race problems in Hawai'i, "with the exception of certain provisions favoring Native Hawaiians in regard to land, there are no discriminatory laws. The dominant trend in race relations is in the direction of eliminating those forms of racial discrimination that do exist." The U.S. submissions state unequivocally that the goal of the federal administration from 1950 to 1959 was to incorporate Hawai'i through statehood (United Nations 1946-58). This policy was in derogation of the U.S. obligation to assist and prepare Hawaiian Natives for self-governance.

When the Statehood Act was submitted for approval to the local populace, the citizenry was *not* given a choice on the ballot for *Common Wealth* or for *Free Association* status. In the case of Hawai'i and Alaska, the ballot provided for statehood or continued territorial status. No inquiry has ever been made by the United Nations into these and other violations of U.N. procedures although the Native Hawaiian population have continued to advocate for self-governance since 1959.

In the 1960s several organizations formed for the purpose of protecting Native rights to land. The Aloha Organization sought federal legislation for reparations from the U.S. The Council of Hawaiian Organizations and the Congress of Hawaiian people advocated for more autonomy and the right to have some meaningful voice in state politics. The Coalition of Native Claims researched and documented Native claims for entitlements. These undertakings continued for 20 years. In the early 1980s the U.S. Congress created the Native Hawaiian Claims Commission to hold hearings to determine the nature of the federal governments' involvement in the illegal overthrow of the monarchy in 1893. The conclusion of the claims commissioner's report was that America had not been complicitous in the overthrow.

As a direct result of these accumulated efforts, Hawaiians began to organize and educate themselves about sovereignty. In the late 1970s, a group of Native homesteaders formed Ho'āla Kānāwai (Awakening the Law). They compiled and published historical and political information



Hawai'i's land monopoly. As a result of the Māhele and related laws, 95% of Hawai'i's lands are owned or controlled by approximately 82 major landowners today. Two of these are federal and state governments with illegal "titles" to over 50% of the land – illegal by virtue of the 1893 armed invasion and occupation of the Hawaiian Nation and confiscation of its crown and governments land. The remaining 80 major private landowners own 47% of the land. Being land-rich but capital-poor, they seek, sell to, and marry up with capital-rich but land-poor foreign investors, mostly from Japan today. Their profits are primarily in high-profit urban tourism and related condo developments being sold on the world's luxury markets. These basic facts are at the root of Hawai'i's rapidly deepening economic and social crisis. Source: Public Land Policy in Hawai'i (1967). Text and graphics: Maka'āinana Media.

relating to the Native trusts, the overthrow and the U.S. policy of wardship. They initiated legislation which segregated the Native lands from the public trust and organized a statewide corporation comprised of elected directors who would oversee their lands and work cooperatively to establish policy over their trust assets. Their efforts gained wide support in the state but were curtailed in 1978 when the state democrats created the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. OHA was patterned after the infamous federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). However, unlike the BIA, OHA was intended to be a quasi-sovereign entity, one which was a state agency and a Native nation! The constitutional committee which created OHA, reported that "OHA was created to further the melting pot theory"

(*Hawai'i Senate Journal* 1979). The purpose of OHA is to achieve assimilation of the Native culture and to guarantee state control of Native trust lands in perpetuity. Since its inception, OHA has been plagued with cronyism, fiscal mismanagement and is currently the subject of a state criminal investigation relating to a fraudulent contract.

Although the initial efforts of the Ho'āla Kānāwai movement were curtailed by the state, Native advocates continued to meet and develop a strategy for self-determination. From 1983 to 1987, a coalition of Native leaders called the Native Hawaiian Land Trust Task Force began workshops in all Native communities throughout the Islands which focussed on the right of self-determination of the Hawaiian people. This movement grew through several successive political and educational undertakings which reviewed Native history prior and subsequent to the overthrow, Native efforts to regain sovereignty and the inherent cultural and political rights of Native people. These efforts culminated in a Native Constitutional Convention which was held in January 1987. What emerged was a new Nation – Ka Lāhui Hawai'i (The Gathering of Hawaii).

Ka Lāhui Hawai'i

The two hundred and fifty (250) delegates who attended the first Constitutional Convention created a four tiered government whose representatives were elected by Native people residing in 33 traditional *ahupua'a* or districts. They defined and enunciated Native rights to worship, fish, gather and undertake other commercial activities. In addition, they identified and claimed as Native lands the Hawaiian Home Lands, the Ceded lands and the private trust lands of the Bishop Estate, Queens Hospital, Kapiolani Hospital, Lunalilo Trust and Liliu'okalani Trust.

Within five years, their Native nation has grown from 250 to more than 16,000 Native citizens. Its national elections are certified by the League of Women Voters, and its government meets in session twice annually. Although the U.S. and state do not recognize Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, it has won the respect and support of the broader community in Hawai'i and has successfully negotiated treaties with five Alaskan and American Indian Nations. It has made submissions to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations for three years and participated in international events including regional consultations with the World Council of Churches Committee to Combat Racism and the Rio Conference.

Empowerment Through Action

Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has created a strong base of support by empowering Native people through direct action and education. Psychological barriers and political disenfranchisement are addressed by and through a program of education which focuses on historical and cultural data demonstrating that Hawaiians did exercise sovereignty on their land base and in the international arena. As this program is implemented, it has empowered Native Hawaiians by providing them with the insight to understand their ability to form and structure a nation and to begin asserting control over their lands and trust assets.

In its second phase of sovereignty education, Ka Lāhui undertook training of its Native citizens in the area of land management, sovereignty, natural resource development, mediation, arbitration, state, federal, county and Ka Lāhui Hawai'i legislative processes, historic site curatorship and water resource management. In addition, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i initiated a national newsletter and installed computers on each of the major islands to facilitate communications and to create a data base for storage of demographic and geophysical information.

As a result of these efforts, Native Hawaiians now know what their land base and trust assets are and how the Western political system disenfranchised them of their Native rights to self-governance. More importantly, enhanced communication has facilitated the process of nation building by providing direct and immediate resolution of political and environmental issues and problems. Consequently, Hawaiians are now able to prepare unified positions on issues relating to state and federal undertakings and at the international level.

Structuring a Government –
Incorporating the Traditional into a Modern Elective Structure

Rather than studying various models of sovereignty, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has taken the bold step of creating a government based on the input and particular needs of its Native people. At periodic Constitutional Conventions, Native representatives address the issue of fair and equitable representation. Because 80% of the Native population reside on O'ahu (the capital island) the "one man, one vote" approach would skew decision making power by providing the majority of votes to one of the six islands. In order to preserve the traditional perspective found in rural areas on neighbor islands, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i provides that each *moku* (island) is divided into traditional *ahupua'a* (districts). Regardless of population, each moku has 8 seats in the national *Pākaukau* (legislature).

The traditional wisdom and cultural experience of the *kūpuna* (elders) is fundamental to self-governance. Ka Lāhui Hawai'i incorporated this into their government through the *'Aha Kūkā o na Kūpuna* (The Council of Elders), which provides traditional insight on culture, protocol and conducts *ho'oponopono* (traditional ceremonies for conflict resolution).

The incorporation of the *ali'i* (chiefs) was accomplished through the creation of the 'Aha Ali'i, a council comprised of the four chiefly lines, and whose jurisdiction includes culture and protocol.

Although the Ali'i and Kūpuna Councils do not vote or veto law made by the Pākaukau, they exercise great power because the Constitution of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i provides that culture values, processes and practices must be recognized.

The power of decision making is reserved greatly to the Pākaukau. However, in order to maintain a system of inherent checks and balances, the citizens are authorized through initiative, referendum and recall to pass and veto laws and remove any elected official of the nation by petition.

Developing a Strategy for Sovereignty

The Natives of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i have defined sovereignty and the goal of nationhood in the following way:

The five elements of sovereignty are:

1) A strong and abiding faith *in the* akua. *A spiritually empty people do not make a strong nation.*

2) A people with a common culture, *language and tradition, for example:* Na Po'e Hawai'i.

3) A land base *in order that people are able to live and practise their cultural traditions. The Hawaiian land base consists of the public land trusts (Hawaiian Home Lands which contains approximately 200,000 acres and the Ceded Lands which is approximately 1.4 million acres) as provided by law.*

4) A government structure *to enable our people to be self-determining. Self-determination is the ability of a Nation of people, through their government structure, to manage their lands and natural resources and to create a format or plan for their future and that of their children.*

5) An economic base *that will enable our people to become self-sufficient. Economic self-sufficiency is the goal of nationhood.*

Sovereignty is the ability of a people who share a common culture, religion, language, value system and land base, to exercise control over their lands and lives, independent of other nations.

In order for Native Hawaiian people to exercise control over their lives and property they must be self-determined. Self-determination is realized when the Native people organize a mechanism for self-governance. Only when the Native Hawaiian people create a governmental structure which provides for democratic representation of their members and begin to inter-relate with the State and Federal Trustees who now control their lands will they be able to gain control over their trust assets and their future.

Self-sufficiency is the goal of nationhood. Self-sufficiency means the people are able to be self-supporting, capable of feeding, clothing and sheltering themselves. It means that they are the motive force for their own farming and pastoral projects.

In developing sovereignty for itself, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has framed its initiatives and proposals into four distinct categories. These categories conform to the four arenas in which political sovereignty is manifested. They include: 1) the Native to Native dialogue; 2) the Native to Native state dialogue; 3) the international arena; and 4) nation to nation relationships.

In the first arena of sovereignty, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has empowered its people and the public through a uniform educational program. This work is an ongoing task. In addition, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has adopted distinctly Native perspective, values and processes into its governing structure, and incorporated Native definitions of the terms "sovereignty," "self-determination" and "self-sufficiency" into its governing mechanism.

The second arena of sovereignty involves the relationship of Native Hawaiians to the United States. Rather than bolster the federal policy of imposed wardship, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i and other pro-sovereign groups do not acknowledge the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and do not communicate with the U.S. through OHA. Instead, Ka Lāhui has established direct channels of communications with the U.S. through Hawai'i's federal delegation, by lobbying Washington, filing testimony at Congressional hearings and through the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The publication of the 1991 Civil Rights Report, referred to above, is a direct result of these efforts. In addition, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has implemented an outreach program to gain support from national organizations. At present the National Lawyers Guild, the United Church of Christ, the Methodist, Episcopalian and Catholic Churches have

passed resolutions supporting the cause of Hawaiian sovereignty. These groups will provide support for national legislation initiatives and for raising the issue of Hawaiian self-governance nationally.

In the international arena, Ka Lāhui has foregone the option of establishing itself as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). Ka Lāhui Hawai'i views itself as a Native nation. Seeking NGO status at the United Nations would be counter productive. Instead, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i interfaces with the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations, and for three years, has submitted interventions to the U.N. regarding claims for self-governance and responding to the U.N. inquiry conducted by Miguel Alfonso Martinez relating to its treaties with U.N. member states. Although the U.S. has not signed the U.N. Human Rights Convention, it is a signatory to other International agreements. Ka Lāhui has sought and obtained assistance from the Center for Constitutional Rights to investigate international claims against the United States.

In arena four, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i has signed five treaties with Alaskan and Native American Indian Groups and is currently pursuing treaty relations with other Native and non-Native governments. These treaties provide for and enhance the exchange of vital information which the U.S. and its agents withheld from Native Hawaiians. Other Native American Nations have kept Ka Lāhui Hawai'i informed on congressional hearings and federal policy initiatives which senator Inouye and the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs have sponsored which are contrary to Native sovereignty. Diplomatic relations have also enabled treaty signatories to exchange information on and develop programs relating to medical services and language preservation. It is anticipated that trade agreements mutually beneficial to Native people will evolve.

The Federal and State Backlash

The formation and expansion of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i and the Native sovereignty movement have resulted in increased resistance by the state and federal governments.

The state government has rapidly moved to settle Native claims to ceded and Hawaiian Home Lands and to have these settlements confirmed by the state legislature. The state government has adopted and initiated policies which exclude Native input in the political process and recognize state agencies (The Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands) as the official and only representation of the Hawaiian people.

Most disconcerting is the collusion between the state government and U.S. senator Inouye regarding the introduction of federal legislation which will confirm wardship, disenfranchise Native Hawaiians and deplete the remaining Native land trusts in order that these lands be available for state public uses and federal military bases. Senator Inouye transmitted draft legislation to the state media and press in early 1991. The political press releases issued by his office and his public statements represented that these bills will provide Natives with: 1) The right to obtain judicial review in the federal courts; and 2) The right to form a sovereign nation.

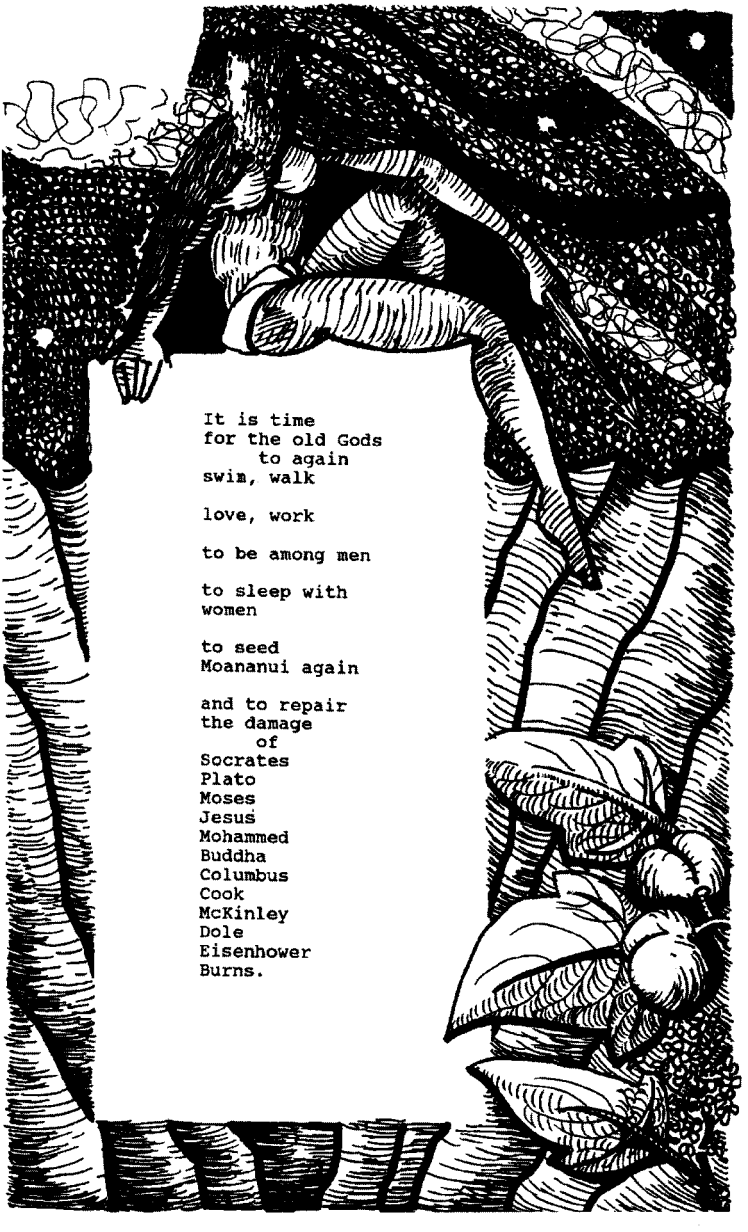
In reality, these measures prevent Natives from directly litigating claims against the U.S. and the state and propose that the federal government Department of Interior designate a "Trust Council" to review Native claims for recommended action by the U.S. Department of Justice. The review process would take five years. The Inouye bill for sovereignty provides that Congress will approve and fund the formation of a coalition of Hawaiian organizations to conduct educational activities relating to sovereignty and to report their findings to Congress. Under the Inouye bill, the state Office of Hawaiian Affairs would be empowered to control and conduct a convention for the formation of a Hawaiian Nation.

When Inouye's proposals were rejected by the Native community, the bills were transmitted to the state Office of Hawaiian Affairs for redrafting by OHA's attorneys, John Van Dyke and Paul Alexander, who forwarded the proposed bills to Congress for immediate action. No public hearings have been held in the islands either by senator Inouye or the state, and none are planned.

Senator Inouye has initiated amendments to the Repatriation Act, the National Historic Preservation Act and the Native American Freedom of Religion Act which will designate the state Office of Hawaiian Affairs as the exclusive representative agency of Native Hawaiians. If these federal bills are passed into law, they will circumvent Native initiatives to participate in issues relating to religious freedom, Native burials and the protection of historic and sacred properties.

There is no doubt that the United States and the State of Hawai'i will continue their efforts to deny Native Hawaiians their civil and human rights and to withhold from Native control the lands and assets of the Native trusts. Neither is there any possibility that Ka Lāhui Hawai'i and other pro-sovereignty groups in Hawai'i will concede sovereignty or retract their commitment to self-governance. As Hawai'i in 1993 marks the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of their kingdom, the time has come for revolutionary change in the Pacific.

HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND



It is time
for the old Gods
to again
swim, walk

love, work

to be among men

to sleep with
women

to seed
Moananui again

and to repair
the damage
of
Socrates
Plato
Moses
Jesus
Mohammed
Buddha
Columbus
Cook
McKinley
Dole
Eisenhower
Burns.

The Impact of Missionaries and Other Foreigners on Hawaiians and Their Culture

By Marion Kelly

When agents of Western society from England, the European Continent and the United States arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in the early years of contact – the late 18th century – they found people who were hospitable, generous, sharing, cooperative, open and curious about foreign visitors. Western explorers left numerous testimonials that describe the Hawaiian Islands as the cheapest market in the Pacific, and Hawaiians as people who never once cheated in trade, who were happy with whatever they were given, and who were generous to a fault. Hawaiian chiefs gave many generous gifts to the captains and officers of English and European exploring expeditions, and this is the reason why there are so many and such elegant feather cloaks, helmets, and religious images to be found in the museums of Great Britain and Europe today.

Not long after Cook's visits in 1778 and 1779, foreigners began living in the Islands for varied lengths of time. Several individuals had received some previous training in Western religion. One, known as "Padre" Howel, had been trained for the clergy in England (Menzies 1920). He lived for over a year in Kealakekua (Ke-ala-ke-kua) under the protection of chief Keaweaheulu (Keawe-a-heulu), of the Kona District of Hawai'i Island in 1793-94 (Menzies 1920:143n; Bell 1914:224).

Other foreigners resided in the Islands in those early years, among whom were "English, Americans, Irish, Portuguese, Geonese, and Chinese" (Puget, Log of the Chatham, Jan. 20, 1794, noted in Bradley 1968:34n). With the possible exception of the Chinese, we can probably assume that the others were Christians of one sort or another. In the early years of the 19th century, Francisco de Paula Marin, a Spaniard, was an influential foreigner, because of his industry as well as his long residence that spanned more than thirty years (Stewart 1828:286; Golovnin 1978:216-17; Gast 1973:9ff). There were many others who settled in the Islands in those early years of the 19th century: William Davis, Anthony Allen, Oliver Holmes, William Stevenson, John Elliot de Castro, Archibald Campbell, and the list continues (Kelly 1956:84-88; Campbell 1867; Gast 1973:6). One account claims "nearly sixty White people" were on O'ahu alone before 1812 (Campbell 1967:118). By 1795 several were in the

service of the high chief Kamehameha who became the first king by their help (Gast 1973:6; Campbell 1967:119).

Most of the Europeans living in the Islands in the early years of Western contact adopted the customs and manners of the Hawaiians. They lived in grass-thatched houses, ate native food, married Hawaiian women, and raised their families among the people. Many served Kamehameha I or one of the major chiefs by providing them with useful Western skills, such as blacksmithing, boat building, sailmaking, rum distilling, or other useful arts. They adapted themselves to life in Hawai'i with the Hawaiian people, some for short periods of time, while others lived out their lives in Hawai'i among Hawaiians. Many of these foreigners left part-Hawaiian progeny, who in some cases became influential members of Hawaiian society and left their mark in Hawaiian history.

The presence of these foreigners offered the Hawaiian people a window on Western culture. Foreigners living in the Islands furnished Hawaiians with European tools, and technical knowledge, particularly that having to do with the use and care of metal and things made of metal. Foreigners also brought with them their beliefs, customs and knowledge of their institutions, including their religions.

Two of the most influential foreigners in the Islands, during the reign of Kamehameha I, were John Young and Isaac Davis (Kelly 1956:74-76, 1974:8-9). They helped put Kamehameha I into his leadership position by participating in his battles against other powerful Hawaiian chiefs. They knew how to use and care for the firearms and canons acquired by Kamehameha I for use against his chiefly enemies. In the years of Kamehameha's regime Young and Davis were advisors and translators for Kamehameha I, whenever he had to deal with foreigners. Young was appointed governor of Hawai'i Island when Kamehameha went to O'ahu to live. Young's second wife was Kamehameha's niece (Kelly 1974:9, Fig. 2). He was given control over a substantial amount of land by Kamehameha I. In the Māhele (land division) of 1848, the children of Young and Davis received large acreages of land, some of which had originally been given to their fathers by Kamehameha I in recognition of services rendered.

Changes in Land Control and Consolidation of the Power Structure

During his lifetime Kamehameha I adhered to his Hawaiian beliefs and customs. He consistently upheld his Hawaiian values. After his death, his family and his chiefs met at Kawaihae, Big Island, to discuss the future: who would inherit the leadership; and how would the lands be divided?

Kamehameha I had been in almost total power from 1795 until his death in 1819, a full 24 years. When he died, his chiefs and their heirs, to whom he had awarded stewardship of large parcels of land, were unwilling to return control of these lands to Liholiho, his son and heir, so that he could then reassign them to his supporters as was the custom. Because many of these lands had sandalwood forests on them, they had become valuable as sources of material wealth from the foreign merchants as a result of a substantial trade in sandalwood. While alive, Kamehameha I had tightly controlled this trade, but after his death, his chiefs wanted to take it over. At the Kawaihae meeting the chiefs stood firmly for retaining control of the lands that Kamehameha I had placed in their custody and for participating in the sandalwood trade on their own accounts.

The French explorer de Freycinet arrived at Kawaihae at the time these discussions were in progress. He was asked to assure the assembled group of chiefs that France and Great Britain would support Liholiho to inherit the rule from Kamehameha I. This he did (de Freycinet 1978:22-24). In the end they were willing to support the young Liholiho as heir to the office of the highest chief, or "king," in exchange for Liholiho's liberalizing the control of trade with foreigners and allowing the chiefs to maintain control over their lands. A deal was struck at Kawaihae in 1819. The chiefs retained their lands, thus, setting a precedent for what was to become in the future private ownership of tens of thousands of acres of land by those powerful chiefs, or their heirs (Kelly 1978:93-94, note no. 6).

Even while the Kawaihae meetings were going on, there is evidence of Christian influence among the high chiefs. Kalanimōkū (Ka-lani-mōkū), who had occupied a position in the government of Kamehameha I vaguely equivalent to the "prime minister" of England, asked to be baptized by the Abbé de Quelen, the Catholic chaplain on Capt. de Freycinet's ship the "Uranie" in 1819. This took place shortly after the death of Kamehameha I, and before the American Protestant missionaries arrived in 1820 (de Freycinet 1978:24-25,28).

Liholiho and Ka'ahumanu (Ka-'ahu-manu), who was a widow of Kamehameha I and the most politically powerful of his several wives, had assumed control of the government after the death of Kamehameha I. Living with the chiefs at that time was Jean Rives, a French Catholic, who was interpreter for Liholiho, and interpreted for de Freycinet at Kawaihae. He later accompanied Liholiho on that fateful trip to England where Liholiho and Kamāmalu (Ka-mā-malu), his wife who had accompanied him, died in 1824. Rives' religion was not looked upon with favor among the English, and he was prevented from returning to the Islands with the

remains of Liholiho and Kamāmalu. Instead, he was sent back to France and was instrumental in promoting a Catholic Mission to the Islands in 1827 (Bradley 1968:184-85n81).

Rives' influence may also have prompted the decision by Queen mother Keōpūolani (Ke-ōpū-o-lani), and Ka'ahumanu, to abolish the traditional *kapu* system, at least that part of the religious system that fostered and protected the status and power of the highest chiefs.

Shortly after Capt. de Freycinet left Kawaihae Bay, Keōpūolani and Ka'ahumanu convinced Liholiho, perhaps with some assistance from Rives, to sit down and eat with them. As the *kapu* system forbade males and females eating together, this act, referred to as *'ai noa*, or "free eating," was used symbolically to signal the population at large that the *kapu* system, or National Religion of the chiefs, was no longer to be followed.

More important, perhaps, than introducing "free eating," was another result from the decision to end the *kapu* system. Abolishing the traditional *kapu* system also abolished the role of an important group of *kāhuna*, or priests, who functioned as religious counselors and professional power brokers among the chiefs. Abolishing the *kapu* system rendered these *kāhuna* obsolete, and thereby removed access to the traditional source of power through which aspiring chiefs might successfully challenge the established leadership. Thus, abolishing the *kapu* system, practically assured that any dissenting chief would not be able to gather sufficient *mana* (power, or support) in the traditional manner, necessary to overthrow the monarchy that had been established by Kamehameha I and inherited by his son, Liholiho. Henceforth, indeed, power comes out of the mouth of a gun.

Abolishing the National Religion in 1819, also left a breach into which the American Congregational missionaries sailed on the "Thaddeus," early in 1820. These missionaries came to the Hawaiian Islands specifically to teach the inhabitants about Protestant Christianity, to convince the Hawaiians to give up their traditional beliefs, to join the church, be baptized and lead lives guided by Christian values and the leaders of the Mission. It did not take them very long before they were guiding and structuring the political life of the Islands.

Brotherhood, Peace, Love, and Rotten Ships

When Liholiho died in London in 1824, his younger brother Kauikeaouli (Ka-uike-ao-uli), a mere child, succeeded him. Ka'ahumanu provided the nation with political guidance. Kauikeaouli was the first Hawaiian king to have been educated from childhood by the American missionaries, a fact

that gave them tremendous advantage in the process of planning and providing direction for the Hawaiian government after Ka'ahumanu died in 1832. Several missionaries joined the Hawaiian government between 1837 and 1845. They planned and managed the details of all the branches of government that they developed for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III.

Hawaiians at first may have thought that the religious message brought by the Christian missionaries was similar to the values of Hawaiian society. Christians preached that people should love one another, care for the poor and the sick, help each other, express brotherly love, trust in God, etc., and etc.

Because some of the tenents in Christian teachings sounded similar to some of the Hawaiian cultural values, it was, perhaps, relatively easy for Hawaiians to relate to the preachings of Western religious ideology.

Of course, one of the problems Hawaiians had was trying to understand the great gap between the preachings of the Western religion and the behavior of its adherents. On the one hand they preached brotherhood, peace and love, and on the other hand they traded rotten ships for good sandalwood, refusing to take back their useless hulks and cancel remaining debts. When confronted by the fact that the sandalwood forests were being depleted, and the chiefs were having difficulty delivering the sandalwood, the ship's captains called on their countries' gunboats, claimed outrageous amounts of sandalwood owed them, and threatened to take over the kingdom.

Western traders adhered as closely as possible to the first rule of trade: always receive goods of greater value than the value of the goods traded for them. Economic success in Western society requires making a profit. Success was and still is measured by the amount of wealth one accumulates. Not to profit is to fail. Traders who came to Hawai'i received valuable materials from Hawaiians – fresh food, water, firewood and sandalwood. They paid for those goods with foreign materials, the intrinsic value of which was much less than the value of the goods they had received from the Hawaiians. To the traders this was just "good business." To the Hawaiians, it defied the teachings of Christianity, as well as the Hawaiian system of exchanging items of more or less equal value, a value-for-value gift giving system.

Hawaiian society considered the bounties of nature as gifts from the gods. Thus, they must be shared with anyone in need. What the gods provided could not be claimed as the private property of any person, or group, not even the highest chief. Everyone had rights to nature's resources. The distribution system operated through gift giving within

extended families, between neighbors and friends and even extended to strangers.

Social relationships were important to the success of the normal distribution system. Among Hawaiians it was the custom for gifts to be returned and equal values exchanged, perhaps not today, or tomorrow, but sometime in the not too distant future, there would be an occasion for social debts to be paid.

One who gave something of less value than he had received was looked upon as stingy, unless, of course, it was clear that the giver of the smaller gift was without resources.

Giving more than one received tended to increase one's social status; giving less reduced it, and placed the giver at a social disadvantage. To accumulate, or hoard material wealth, rather than share it, was not an acceptable goal in Hawaiian society. Thus, while explorers found Hawai'i to be a very "cheap market" and Hawaiians generous, from the point of view of the Hawaiian value system, Hawaiians consistently experienced unequal exchanges when trading with foreigners. The generous "gifts" Hawaiians made were at first returned with the usual "trinkets and geegaws," type of trade goods, which were recognized by Hawaiians as being of much less value than what they had given. Compared with the material wealth displayed by the foreigners on their persons (uniforms, swords, hand guns, and etc.) and on their ships (cloth sails, heavy ropes, large iron anchors, and etc.) the occasional shirt, hat, jacket, nail, or piece of barrel hoop offered in trade by the foreigners were obviously of little value. While the foreign trade items had a certain fascination for Hawaiians, they were recognized to be clearly of much less value than the bountiful gifts of fresh food, fresh water, and precious featherwork made by Hawaiians. The Hawaiians harvested food, collected fresh water from distant springs and firewood from upland forests. They also carried on their backs all they harvested and collected down to the shore and by canoe to the waiting ships. The gift of their labor should not be ignored in the exchange of value with the foreigners.

As early as 1819, it is not surprising to have historian and writer Louis Arago make the following observation:

"I cannot say that they [traders] carry on any regular trade here, but rather contrabond: they can obtain whatever they want at so cheap a rate. In the morning they take half a dozen bottles of wine to the Governor, and the good soul is soon stretched at their feet: they make presents of a few

hatchets and muskets to the principle chiefs; all the rest of the population are then quite at the disposal of these gentlemen" (Arago 1823:125).

Hawaiians experienced the dark side of Christianity as well as of the (not so Christian) traders. In 1790, a sandalwood trader, Simon Metcalf, launched an attack on a group of unsuspecting Hawaiians, who were peacefully trading with his ship off the island of Maui. Metcalf ordered the canoes to gather along one side of his ship. He then opened fire on them, killing at least a hundred Hawaiians and injuring many more. This was Metcalf's revenge for the loss of one of his small boats while his ship was trading at another place on Maui. He had been told by others there that it was people from Olowalu who had taken the boat (Kuykendall 1968:24).

Trader James Hunnewell came on the ship that brought the first missionaries to the Islands in 1820. Anxious to make his fortune in sandalwood, he brought with him a cargo of trade goods and began to trade for sandalwood on his own private account. When the decision was made to get rid of the "Thaddeus" because it was hopelessly worm eaten, Hunnewell became the agent for its sale. A badly built ship from the start, the "Thaddeus" was in even worse condition at the time it was put up for sale. He sold it to the Hawaiian chiefs in exchange for 267 tons of sandalwood valued at about $32,000. The ship was in such poor condition that its hull rotted through long before all the promised sandalwood could be gathered. The Hawaiians begged Hunnewell to take it back and cancel the remaining debt. He refused, saying he sympathized with them, but that it was impossible to cancel their debt. It took them 12 years to pay it off (Sullivan 1926:12-14).

Gunboats from England, France and the United States began coming to Hawai'i in the early 1820s to demand payment of alleged debts of the king and chiefs. Many of them claimed that the Hawaiian king and chiefs owed the foreign merchant traders sandalwood valued in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. The original amount of sandalwood agreed to be delivered had been increased by extremely high interest rates charged on unpaid debts (Kuykendall 1974:434-36, Appendix D).

Hawaiian people, because of the greed of the foreign traders, were being exploited more than they ever had been in precontact times by their chiefs. Now, hundreds of Hawaiians had to spend months, and years deep in the rainforests harvesting sandalwood for the foreign traders. Farmers were absent from their gardens so long that their crops were ruined and famine stalked the land. In this weakened condition, people became highly susceptible to the many foreign diseases that invaded their Islands.

Hunnewell returned to New England and had a small ship, Missionary Packet, built to bring the second group of missionaries to the Islands. It was so poorly built that on its way to Hawai'i around South America Hunnewell had to put the ship into port 30 times in 20 different ports to prevent it from sinking (Sullivan 1926:16). Hunnewell then had the arrogance to sell this useless hulk when it finally arrived in the Islands. He remained in the Islands, trading in sandalwood and transhipping whale oil for the whalers. His capital investment was estimated to be $5,000, including the ship and its cargo. After four years he sold out for $67,000, scoring a profit of $62,000, or something over 1,200% on his original investment.

But, as Hawaiian historian David Malo wrote:

"The chiefs had no means of paying, other than calling out their people to cut sandalwood while it lasted, and when it was gone, the chiefs resorted to taxation in other ways. In the meantime the food and kapas must be paid the chiefs as before. The people, too, were diminishing, while the want of the chiefs were increasing" (Malo 1839:125).

By 1826, traders claimed that Hawaiian chiefs owed them at least $150,000 worth of sandalwood. They called upon the military power of their countries to force collection of their claims. Between 1824 and 1844, a total of 52 man-of-war ships came to the Islands, demanding payment, land, trade advantages, and more, and threatening to take over the country if the debts were not paid immediately. In the 1830s and 1840s, tensions mounted.

After the sandalwood trade was no longer viable because the sandalwood forests had been obliterated, foreign traders resident in the Islands had to depend on servicing whaling ships. When the whaling fleet moved to other Pacific ports, the resident merchants, looking for other ways to invest their profits and accumulate increased wealth, wanted land on which to establish commercial plantations. As private ownership of land was not part of the Hawaiian economic system, it was difficult to obtain secure, long-term control over a parcel of land.

Large Fish Will Eat the Small Fish Up

In 1839, the first long-term land lease was signed by Kamehameha III, with three members of the mercantile firm, Ladd and Company: William Ladd, P. A. Brinsmade, and William Hooper. Members of the Hawaiian Mission in Honolulu arranged for the lease for these men, who were their friends. Brinsmade was a "graduate of Bowdoin College and former student at the

Andover Theological Seminary and the Yale Divinity School. He had abandoned theology in favor of business, but in making the change he had shrewdly retained the advantage of his theological connections (Steegmuller 1951:23). Brinsmade became the leader of one of the mission's Bible classes soon after he arrived in Honolulu and was active in the Seaman's Chapel. He and his partners were called "the pious traders" by the established merchants.

One historian wrote: "There can be little doubt that the influence of the missionaries united with the persuasive eloquence of P. A. Brinsmade [...] to quiet the fears of the chiefs and induce them to grant to Ladd and Company the land at Kōloa [Kaua'i]" (Kuykendall 1947:175). The land leased from the Hawaiian government amounted to 980 acres, of which about 300 acres were planted in sugar cane. In addition, the partners were given a mill site with a waterfall for power. "The lease was for fifty years from July 29th, 1835, at an annual rental of $300.00" (Alexander 1937:3). They were allowed the privileges of building a road to the landing, unrestricted buying and selling of goods and materials, and immunity from harbor charges. Subsequently, they obtained a lease for a warehouse site. They also sublet about 150 acres of land to another company for the cultivation of mulberry plants to feed worms for a silk industry. The missionaries encouraged these long-term leases for the prosperity of foreigners. Native Hawaiian got nothing out of these arrangements. In fact, what had been their traditional land and water use rights in Kōloa were now controlled by the foreigners.

During these years, the Hawaiian government continued to be threatened by foreign gunboats. One arrived in 1842, that had just taken over the Marquesas Islands and established a French protectorate over the Tahitian kingdom. The Hawaiian king and chiefs feared a military invasion and takeover of their Islands. Some also feared "that by a too rapid increase of numbers and wealth among the foreigners, the government would eventually pass from their hands" and into the hands of the foreigners (*The Polynesian,* July 17, 1841). There was much discussion among the chiefs about what should be done. Some wanted all foreigners sent away. Others, realizing the military strength of foreign powers opted for turning the government over to friendly foreigners to manage according to the Western system.

As early as 1837, David Malo wrote:

"*I have been thinking that you ought to hold frequent meetings with all the chiefs [...] to seek for that which will be of the greatest benefit to this*

country: you must not think that this is anything like olden times, that you are the only chiefs and can leave things as they are. [...] This is the reason. If a big wave comes in, large fish will come from the dark Ocean which you never saw before, and when they see the small fishes, they will eat them up. [...] The ships of the white man have come, and smart people have arrived from the great countries. [...] they know our people are few in number and living in a small country; they will eat us up [...]. God has made known to us through the mouths of the men of the man-of-war things that will lead us to prepare ourselves. [...] Therefore, get your servant ready who will help you when you need him" (Malo 1837).

The American missionaries were the friends who agreed to help the Hawaiians set up a Western type of government in the hope that this would protect the Hawaiians from being taken over by a foreign power.

The first missionary to go into the Hawaiian government was Rev. William Richards in 1839. His job description read: Chaplain, teacher, and translator. He lectured to the king and chiefs every day on Western political economy – the free-market system. He instructed them in the general science of Western government from a text book that was written by a free trade advocate, Francis Wayland. These daily instructions undoubtedly hastened changes in the Hawaiian government.

In 1841, editorials in *The Polynesian* called for the Hawaiian government, to provide more support for foreign investors:

"those who have the real interests of the islands at heart, cannot do better than to afford every encouragement to agricultural enterprise. Instead of clogging them with heavy land-rents, short leases, and impeding their advancement by injudicious legislative enactments, bounties had better be offered, and even land given upon the condition of cultivating it" (The Polynesian 6/26/1841).

In response to the demands of the foreigners, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, resigned from the Mission in 1842, and took up a post in the Hawaiian government. He was made secretary of state for foreign affairs and controlled the finances of the kingdom.

In February 1843, another British frigate arrived. The commander demanded the king sign a document assuring that the Hawaiians would pay British traders $100,000 that they claimed as debts owed to them. Fearing an attack on the town of Honolulu, Kamehameha III signed the document, but protested in a letter to Queen Victoria. For about five months, Lord

George Paulet ran the Hawaiian government. In July Rear Admiral Richard Thomas arrived and restored the Islands to the Hawaiian government. July *1993* will mark 150 years since the restoration.

In 1844, a one-sided document drafted in England by the British foreign office was sent to the Islands and presented to the Hawaiian government for signatures. There was no negotiation. Hawaiians had to sign it or pay the consequences. It is known as the British Convention of 1844, and was signed in Lahaina (Kuykendall 1968:204).

In September 1845, Rev. Lorrin Andrews, a member of the Mission and first principal of Lahainaluna School on Maui, was appointed to a judgeship by Kamehameha III. In October 1846, Mr. Wiliam Little Lee, an American from New England with some training in law, was issued a letter, which gave him all the rights of citizenship without surrendering his American citizenship. He was appointed to a judgeship in December, taking up the work that another foreigner, John Ricord, had begun.

In 1845, a letter appeared in *The Friend*:

"If anyone of us becomes assistants of the chiefs, his pay for the most part is in goods: the most of the dollars are for the foreign chiefs. [...] Foreigners come on shore with cash, ready to purchase land; but we have not the means to purchase lands; the native is disabled like one who has long been afflicted with a disease upon his back. [...] We are not prepared to compete with foreigners" (The Friend 1845:119).

The officers of the Hawaiian government replied: "It is proper to sell small farms to Natives and also to foreign subjects, and let them cultivate alike, that the skillful may instruct the ignorant in the work" (op.cit.:118). Already, the chiefs had forgotten that the Hawaiian farmer was a most highly skilled cultivator of the soil while growing crops that would sustain him and his family.

A petition sent to Kamehameha and his chiefs was printed in the popular Hawaiian newspaper, *Elele*, and carried over 1,600 signatures. It requested them to dismiss all foreign officers in the government, to stop foreigners from taking the oath of allegiance, to prevent sales of land to foreigners, and to establish Hawai'i as a completely independent nation, free of foreign control (ibid.).

This was answered by Keoni Ana (John Young, son of the earlier John Young), and John 'I'i, a prominent chief. They assured the signers that foreigners could not purchase land unless they took the oath of allegiance to the Hawaiian king (ibid.).

So, led by the ex-missionary Americans, the government went ahead, appointing foreigners to power positions and letting them plan the most important change in the history of the Hawaiian kingdom: change in land tenure.

During the time this change from land use rights to private ownership of land was being implemented, harassments from foreign gunboats continued.

In 1849 two more French frigates arrived. They presented ten (10) demands in their ultimatum to the Hawaiian king. Kamehameha III rejected these demands. Immediately, the commander-in-chief marched his soldiers to the fort and took possession of it. They destroyed armaments and furnishings in the fort, government offices and customs house. They stole the king's yacht, *Kamehameha*. They declared an 1846 treaty, which the Hawaiians had negotiated with the French in Paris, nul and void, and replaced it with another which was much more restrictive for the Hawaiians.

"Unlocking" the Lands of the Kingdom

As early as 1845, plans were being laid to turn land into a commodity, to be privately owned, bought and sold on the market. The primary architects of this plan were William Richards and Gerrit P. Judd. Judd is quoted as saying: "The Land Commission was my idea" (quoted in Kuykendall 1968:278n). In December 1845, the council approved a plan to set up a Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles. Early in 1846, the king appointed its first members: Rev. William Richards, lawyer John Ricord, John Young Kānehoa, John 'I'i, and Z. Ka'auwai. At the first meeting, Rev. Richards was chosen president and Joseph Henry Smith, a member of a missionary family, appointed secretary. On May 8, 1847, Smith was made a Land Board member in place of John Ricord, who had resigned; on August 18, 1847, William L. Lee and N. Nāmau'u took the places of Rev. Richards and Kānehoa, the eldest son of John Young. Both had resigned.

Shortly after his appointment to the office of chief justice of the Superior Court of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1847, judge Lee wrote that the changes in land ownership, called the Māhele, was to be "the most blessed change that has ever fallen to the lot" of the Hawaiian Nation (Ltr. Lee to Kamehameha III, 12/14/1887).

Lee envisioned that Kamehameha III would "retain all his private lands, as his own individual property, subject only to the rights of the tenants" (ibid.). Of the remaining lands, Lee stated, "one third shall be set aside as the property of the Hawaiian Government [...] one third to the

Chiefs of the kingdom, in proportion to their possessions [...] and the remaining third to the tenants, the actual possessors and cultivators of the soil, to have and to hold to them, their heirs and successors forever" (ibid.).

Lee wrote further, that in his opinion, if the Māhele is "fully carried out in the liberal spirit in which it is begun – if the lands of Your [Kamehameha III's] Kingdom be unlocked, it will open the hidden fountains of prosperity, and prove the dawn of a new and bright era to Your Kingdom" (ibid.).

In December 1847, just two (2) months before the deadline for farmers to register their claims (the farmers had been given two years to register their claims), Lee wrote a letter to each of the missionaries on Hawai'i Island stating that the Land Commission had received "not a dozen native claims [...] from the whole Island of Hawaii" (Ltr. Lee to Coan, Paris, Thurston & Lyons, 12/9/1847). He asked them to "exert" themselves to "arouse" the commoners to send in their claims "immediately" (ibid.). Of course, this was too little and too late, and totally inadequate to counter nearly two years of resistance by the chiefs and their land agents to the filing of claims by the commoner farmers, the cultivators of the land. The Hawaiian farmers were hesitant to make land claims against chiefs on whom their families had depended for generations. According to the plan, the division of land rights between a Chief and a Tenant shall "take place whenever a Chief or Tenant shall desire such divisions;" similarly, land divisions with Tenants on the King's lands, were to take place "whenever His Majesty or any of said tenants shall desire such division" (Ltr. Lee to Kamehameha III, 12/14/1847).

The enormity of this ignorance of the concequences of such a loose arrangement provided by the authors of the land law becomes a little clearer by January 12, 1848. This came just thirty-four (34) days before the deadline for commoners to register their claims. At this time Lee wrote"The idea of common kanakas [men] sending in their claims is not so popular with the Chiefs as it should be, for they say [...] that the konohikis [chiefs] can send in their claims and the tenants still hold their lands the same as ever – But this would be for the people to gain nothing" (Ltr. Lee to C. B. Andrews, 1/12/1848). Thus, if the chiefs had their way, they and the king would receive fee simple title to land. The commoners would continue to live on and cultivate the land without fee simple title at the sufferance of the *konohiki* of the *ahupua'a* (land section) should the *konohiki* be so disposed. Basically, history shows that the chiefs prevailed.

By the time the deadline, February 14, 1848, had passed, the number of separate claimants who had registered their claims with the Board of Land Commissioners was somewhat less than 13,500.

The Māhele of 1848, strictly speaking, occurred between January 27 and March 7, 1848, during which time the king and 251 chiefs, including six with non-Hawaiian surnames, divided up most of the land in the Hawaiian kingdom among themselves.

On March 8, the king divided the lands that he had designated as his between himself (the king's private lands) and the Hawaiian government (Government Lands). At the end of all the quit claims made in February and March 1848, and recorded in the Māhele Book, the following conditions prevailed with respect to the lands:

251 chiefs received approximately ..... 1.6 million acres
The king received a little less than ..... 1 million acres
The Hawaiian government got about ..... 1.5 million acres

It was not until two and a half years later, the Kuleana Act was passed in August 1850. Only by then did the land commissioners begin to take testimony and awarding parcels of land to claimants who were farmers and who had filed their claims before the deadline of February 14, 1848. One month *before* the Kuleana Act was passed, another act in July 1850, allowed foreign residents to own land.

As a result of all this, not more than about 8,200 awards were made to the common farmers, representing about 30 percent of the adult male population (those who should have qualified to receive land, according to the Kuleana Act and the rules set up by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles). Thus, approximately 70 percent of the adult male population, with their wives and children were rendered landless at the moment when it was most important to be awarded a piece of land on which to live and cultivate the crops that would keep a family alive.

To the 8,200 awardees went about 28,600 acres of land, less than half of the acreage awarded to, or subsequently bought by, 20 missionaries. As Government Lands became available for purchase, most of the large acreages were purchased by non-Hawaiians, and a considerable number by missionary families, as recorded by Hobbs (1935:Appendix B Land Transactions of American Missionaries to Hawai'i; the listing of deeds covers fully twenty pages).

Cultural Genocide

Thus, as a result of the work of the American missionaries, their descendants, business partners and friends, the great majority of Hawaiians became, for all practical purposes, completely dispossessed of their land,

the land they needed to feed themselves and their families. The Hawaiian population of the Islands dropped drastically during the 19th century. Much of that drop can be laid to the fact of the land being deliberately taken from the Hawaiian People.

As I look back on this period, I have developed some thoughts about what it meant to the sovereignty of the Indigenous People of these Islands. It is my opinion that the American missionaries led the Hawaiians into a trap from which they have never escaped.

The American missionaries who became leaders in the Hawaiian government undoubtedly believed that their way was the best way, that their culture was the best culture, that their religion was the best religion, that their values were the best values. So, it followed, as night follows day, that to force their hoped for transformation from Hawaiian to *haole* they took full advantage of the chance to insert themselves and their friends into prominent leadership roles within the Hawaiian government, and there they remained until they took over completely.

In these enlightened times when we are at least discussing human rights, the rights of Indigenous Peoples throughout the world, I believe that we should look at the history of Hawai'i, of the Hawaiian People from the point of view of human rights and rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Genocide is a big word, a new word in our local vocabulary. Genocide is a crime against a people, or their culture. Genocide is not merely the intentional slaughter of a people, it also applies to much more subtle actions that destroy the culture of a people, and in this case of an Indigenous People into whose country Americans have inserted themselves and their culture, and all that that means.

Among the many crimes committed by foreigners in Hawai'i, perhaps the greatest was the plan of the American missionaries that resulted in alienating the land from the Hawaiian people. They called their plan "The Great Māhele." It was described by them as an "act of generosity by the Hawaiian King," who, they said, "gave his land to his people."

It turned out to be not an act of generosity, but an act of genocide.

The Role of American Missionaries in the 1893 Overthrow of the Hawaiian Government

Historical Events, 1820-1893

By Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa

"The Kingdom of Hawai'i nei is a kingdom that loves its ali'i, that loves the voices [with which the ali'i] speak, that loves their words, that loves the discussion between us, that fulfills the command that simply falls [from the lips]. [Our aloha] is not for sale, not for rent, not merely for personal gain, but, is the true Native aloha. This aloha clings to the Mō'ī and the beloved ali'i who are kind to the commoners and to the entire race" (Kamakau 1869).

From the beginning of human time in the Hawaiian Islands until the present, there have been 100 generations. Even Western archaeologists agree that Hawaiians have lived in Hawai'i from at least 100 B.C., or for the past 2,000 years. We are the Native People of Hawai'i.

The 40,000 Hawaiian gods regulated the correct phases of the moon for fishing and farming, for the building of temples and for the celebration of life. The people and the land prospered as a sophisticated civilization was developed, including the largest network of wet land taro fields and hundred acre fishponds, ever found anywhere in the world. Living in harmony with the land developed into an exquisite art form, and generosity in all things, especially in the sharing of food, was considered the highest mark of civilized behavior.

Nowhere else in Polynesia did such agricultural complexes exist. Efficient cultivation of the land allowed the feeding of a large population with a minimum of effort. Working on the average about four hours a day, Hawaiians made the largest temples, finest bark cloth, the most elegant feather cloaks, the most delicate shell necklaces, and the most streamlined canoes in all of the Pacific. Their dance and poetry were considered by some the most refined and eloquent in all of Polynesia.

For thousands of years there were only Hawaiians living in these islands – filling every nook and cranny of this beautiful land with the

abundance of our taro and our children. It was a time when the problems we Hawaiians had to overcome were simply those of our own making. These were problems for which our ancestors could provide answers, if we but stopped to consult them. It was not a perfect life, but it was a well ordered existence, in a society that was dedicated to the celebration of life. It was a world that Hawaiians knew intimately, and from our knowledge, could firmly take control.

Into that relative bliss came the British explorer Captain James Cook in the year 1778. Bringing news of the White man's world where all things were wonderous, new and often dangerous, he also brought foreign diseases such as syphillis and tuberculosis, which were previously unknown to Hawaiians. Hawaiians greeted him with generous gifts of food, lavish feather capes and beautiful women. When Cook tried to take hostage a divine *ali'i nui*, Hawaiians killed him for such rude behavior.

Guns, Merchants, and Missionaries

But it didn't matter how many foreigners Hawaiians killed. They could not stem the tide of foreign diseases which devastated the Hawaiian people; by 1893, when American marines helped overthrow the Hawaiian government, there were only 40,000 Hawaiians left.

Almost as dangerous as the new diseases were foreign merchants who came to Hawai'i seeking riches and founding the lucrative sandalwood trade, which in time was replaced by the whaling industry. Hawai'i was considered the perfect port of call to replenish ships sailing between California and China, and American merchants came to predominate in the islands. Moreover there were no troubling taxes to be paid to a Native government; great American fortunes were established from this trade.

American merchants sold Hawaiians such luxuries as velvet clothes, silver tableware, and crystal goblets, as well as guns and Western ships, at greatly inflated prices, thereby introducing that bane of Western society – great indebtedness. Also confusing was the Western custom of accumulating interest, which enlarged the original debt even after *ali'i* had learned to restrain their purchase of foreign goods. As Hawaiian forests were stripped bare of the sandalwood required to repay the debt, American merchants began to demand Hawaiian land in its stead.

As early as 1820, John C. Jones was appointed a U.S. consul by the American government to oversee commercial interests in the islands. When Hawaiian *ali'i* found debt repayment difficult, Jones sent for a U.S. warship to enforce American demands. In 1826, two American warships

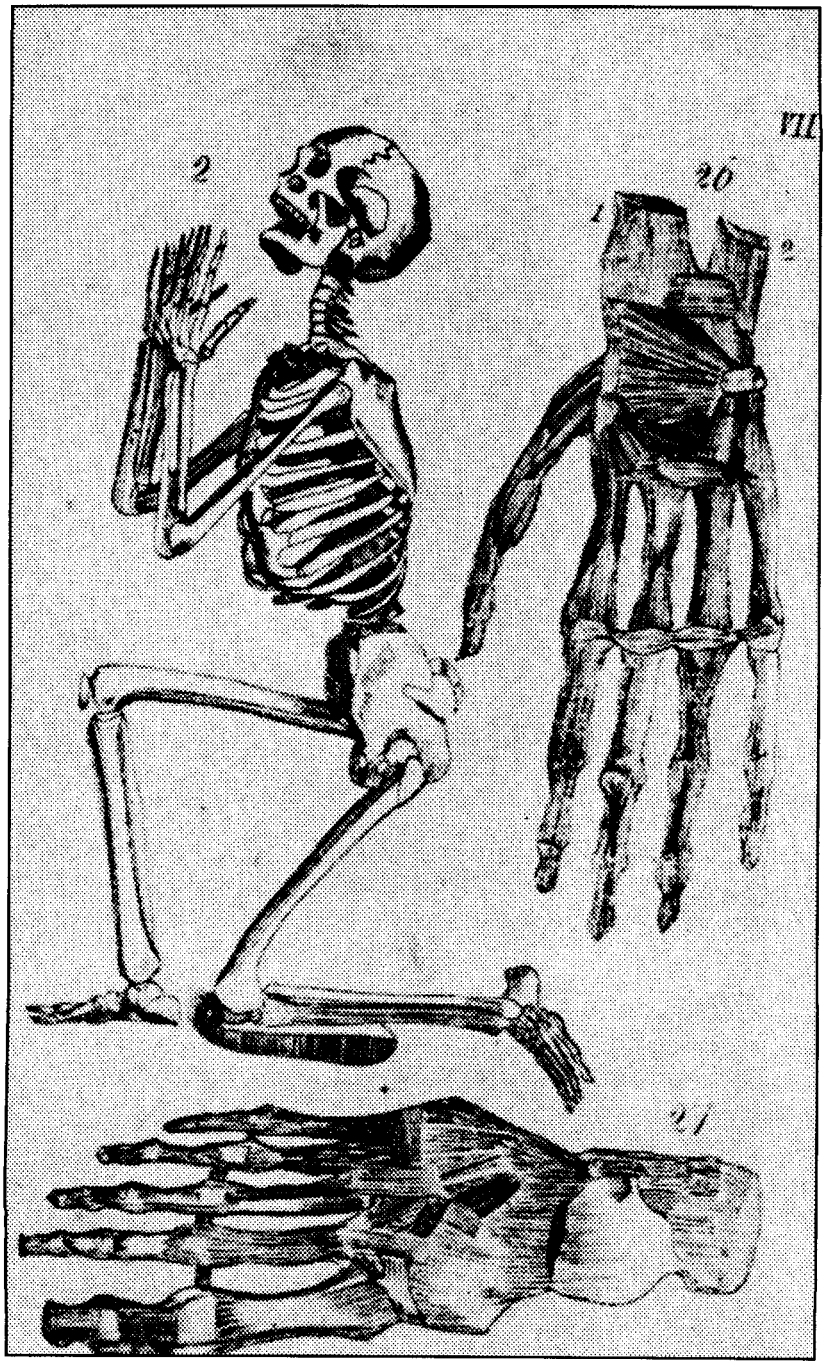
came to Honolulu; "The Dolphin" commanded by Lieutenant Percival, and "The Peacock," under Captain Thomas ap Catesby-Jones.

Percival insisted, under threat of war, that all the *ali'i* debt be guaranteed by the Hawaiian government; hence the beginning of the first Hawaiian national debt. Catesby-Jones demanded a treaty ensuring that American citizens, ships and property would be "inviolably protected against all enemies of the United States" while residing in Hawai'i, and that Americans should enjoy most favored nation status. Hawaiian *ali'i* agreed as they were perplexed as to how to extricate themselves from their debt situation, short of resorting to war with America. The dwindling population made military resistance difficult, even if Hawaiians could acquire enough guns to achieve some sort of military parity.

Shortly before Consul Jones was appointed, Calvinist missionaries from American New England arrived in Hawai'i in 1820. Where Captain Cook had seen "a handsome people and a beautiful Land" (Beaglehole (ed.) 1967), the Calvinist leader Hiram Bingham and his cohorts saw savages and pagan gloom. When Bingham first saw Hawaiians, he said:

"the appearance of destitution, degradation, and barbarism, among the chattering, and almost naked savages, whose heads and feet, and much of their sunburnt swarthy skins, were bare, was appalling. Some of our number, with gushing tears, turned away from the spectacle. Others with firmer nerve continued their gaze, but were ready to exclaim, "Can these be human beings! How dark and comfortless their state of mind and heart! How imminent the danger to the immortal soul, shrouded in this deep pagan gloom! Can such beings be civilized? Can they be Christianized?" (Bingham 1847:81).

So, this is why we humans are endowed with flexible necks, spines, hips and knees! This anatomical drawing were made in 1827 by Dr. Gerrit Parmele Judd, a missionary from Boston, U.S.A., and writer of the Māhele that stole and privatized all Hawai'i's communal lands. Judd was a founder in 1841 of devout Punahou School, bastion of bourgeois Christian ideology for the past 151 years. Not a word is found in Judd's biography (1969:128-29) on his key role in Hawai'i's tragic land theft. As kānaka maoli say, "While we gazed to their heaven, they stole our land from beneath our feet." Text: John Kelly.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Charles Stewart, another American missionary, voiced similar opinions upon his first sight of Hawaiians:

"Their naked figures, and wild expression of countenance, their black hair streaming in the wind as they hurried the canoe over the water with all the eager action and muscular power of savages, their rapid and unintelligible exclamations, and whole exhibition of uncivilized character, gave to them the appearance of being half-man and half-beast, and irresistibly pressed on the thoughts the query – "Can they be men – can they be women? Do they not form a link in creation, connecting man with the brute?" (Stewart 1828:88).

Under the American missionaries, Hawaiians fell from being the proud descendants of the *akua* Papa and Wākea to a pseudo-scientific version of the "missing link" between brute and man! Bingham's mission was to plant the seed of self-doubt in the Hawaiian breast. Calvinists taught that Hawaiians were dying because they did not believe in Jehovah, and that if Hawaiian *ali'i nui* would trust and obey American missionaries – their "true" friends – then Hawaiians could be saved from military threats by rapacious foreign merchants as well as from the terrible foreign diseases.

By 1825, the *ali'i nui*, formerly responsible for protecting their people through correct religious devotion, converted and led the Hawaiian nation into Christianity, a new type of *pono* perhaps (see pp. 34-43, this volume). The *ali'i nui* hoped that the Christian message of *ola hou*, literally new life, or ressurection, would give their people new physical life. But the price to be paid by the Hawaiian *ali'i nui* was high. American missionary protection meant complete obedience to all dictates and the rejection of everything Hawaiian.

Foreign Desires

The next 30 years brought many changes to Hawai'i. Following American missionary advice, the *ali'i nui* adopted American legal forms, including a Bill of Rights and a constitution. The government was reorganized with a privy council, legislature and judiciary. Missionaries advised that Western forms of government would ensure Hawai'i a place among civilized nations, and would bring foreign respect for the independence of the Hawaiian nation.

Unfortunately, Hawaiian *ali'i* spoke very little English and had only a minimal understanding of the *haole* world. The *ali'i nui* had learned that many foreigners, especially merchants, desired Hawaiian lands and were

not to be trusted. However, the *ali'i nui* did not believe that all foreigners were evil. Some foreigners said they loved Hawaiians and wanted to help them become "enlightened." These "friends" were the American missionaries, and many of them were hired to work for the Hawaiian government as ministers, judges, land surveyors and clerks, until the young *ali'i nui* could be trained by these same Calvinists to run the kingdom. Soon American missionaries had complete control of the government, in direct contradiction of their mission. As Bingham had told Lord Byron in 1825:

"We were not employed by the United States' Government, and the instructions from the American Board of Commissioners to us as Christian Missionaries, forbade our interfering with the civil and political affairs of the nation" (Bingham 1847:269).

However, once Hawai'i had become a Christian nation, as it had by 1840, missionaries had no other work to do, unless they left Hawai'i to seek new fields and new heathens to convert. Nor was the American Board of Commissioners willing to continue their financial support once their goal had been accomplished. Some left, but many others decided to stay. After all, their children had been born there, the Native race seemed to be dying out, and those that remained were docile. It was God's will that upright American missionaries, and their descendants, should be given the beautiful islands of Hawai'i nei as their new homeland. It was to be their new Canaan, and a just reward for their labors.

Among the missionaries who became trusted advisors of the *ali'i nui* were William Richards, minister of education, and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, family physician, minister of finance, and *de facto* minister of the interior. As minister of education, Richards taught the *ali'i nui* about Western forms of government and argued strongly for economic reform based on a capitalist model. Richards advised that the Hawaiian people would continue to die unless given a greater incentive to live, and that incentive would be private ownership of land.

As minister of finance, Dr. Judd took control of all monetary sources of income in the kingdom. He hired upstanding American lawyers to draft the new laws for the kingdom. So many new laws were written that one observer compared them to the progress of a steam roller. Judd insisted that foreigners who wanted special privileges in the kingdom should take an oath of allegiance to the Hawaiian king. Within 3 years Judd had even paid off the Hawaiian national debt. For the time being the *ali'i nui* were very pleased with their friend's actions. The problems of controlling foreign

threats to Hawaiian sovereignty and foreign debts seemed to be resolved. Perhaps all one needed were friendly foreigners to adjudicate foreign problems.

Maka'āinana Hawaiians were not pleased however. While *maka-'āinana* still loved and revered their *ali'i nui*, they mistrusted foreign intrusion. *Maka'āinana* wrote many petitions to the *ali'i nui* protesting foreigners in the government, private ownership of land, and foreigners swearing an oath of allegiance. In their petition they wrote:

"Good foreigners will become no better by taking the oath of allegiance under our Chiefs. Good people are not opposed to us; they do not evade the laws of the Chiefs; they do not wish this kingdom to be sold to others" (*The Friend* 1885:119).

Maka'āinana feared that foreign advisors would take over the kingdom, but the *ali'i nui* feared that without foreign advice, foreign merchants and their warships would seize the islands first.

As America marched across the North American continent, the islands of the Pacific were also being divided among the great Western powers. By 1842, Britain had laid claim to Australia, and New Zealand, and considered New Guinea, the Solomons, Fiji, Sāmoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Tūvalu and Kiribati to be under their sphere of influence. The French controlled Tahiti, the Marquesas and Society islands, and declared that the Australs, Mangareva and New Caledonia were under their jurisdiction.

The French had also threatened to make Hawai'i part of its Oceanic empire. In 1839, the French frigate "L'Artemise," under the command of Captain Laplace, demanded concessions from the Hawaiian government under threat of war. A $20,000 bond for future good behavior, and a most favored nation treaty were required in recompense for the expulsion of French Catholic priests, and the insulting of a high duty placed on French wines and brandy. Fearful for their business interests, should Hawai'i become a French colony, American merchants collected the $20,000 indemnity among themselves to aid the near bankrupt Hawaiian government.

Then in 1843, the British commander, Lord George Paulet, threatened possible war with Great Britain, because a Bristish Consul had complained that the *ali'i nui* had stolen his land. Although a Hawaiian-British treaty of 1836 had expressely provided only conditional lease of Hawaiian land, not ownership, Paulet used the event as an excuse to bully the Hawaiian

government. He made a number of demands upon the young Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, that the latter could not fulfill, including a $100,000 indemnity for supposed insults to British subjects.

King Kamehameha III turned to his foreign missionary advisors to decide the correct or *pono* course of behavior. Dr. Judd advised that the king should "cede the country under protest to the superior force" of the British military to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, until such time as the British government should realize that a shameful and immoral act had been perpetrated upon a peaceful and Christian nation.

Around the same time, and during the British crisis of 1843, the American President Tyler asserted that Hawai'i was within the American sphere of influence, and warned that European powers were not to interfere. The U.S. secretary of state cautioned that the U.S. might "use force" if it seemed that Hawai'i were to fall into European hands, as it had been American missionaries who had civilized the Natives, and "prepared an asylum for them all in the midst of the dangers of that vast ocean" (in Kuykendall 1938:193-96, 203-04). Above all American business interests should not be threatened in the islands.

Americans were not surprised when soon afterwards, the British Admiral Thomas arrived with instructions from London to undo the great wrong perpetrated by Paulet, and to restore sovereignty to the Hawaiian nation. So the British flag came down and the Hawaiian flag was raised once more to the delighted cheering of the Hawaiian people.

Perhaps their American missionaries had been right; it was better to wait with patient dignity than to engage in a futile war. With only 90,000 Hawaiians left, it seemed imprudent to seek death in battle, when other means could maintain the independence of the nation. So long as Hawaiian *ali'i nui* obeyed missionary advice, it seemed as though the Calvinists could and would use their divine power to save the Hawaiian nation from treacherous foreign warships, duplicitous merchants, and the terrible diseases which symbolized the wrath of God. A new *pono* had been found at a high price. William Richards, the American missionary hired to teach the chiefs about the workings of foreign government, wrote of his lectures:

"In these illustrations I endeavored as much as possible to draw their minds to the defects in the Hawaiian government, and Hawaiian practices, and often contrasted them with the government and practices of enlightened nations. The Conversation frequently took so wide a range that there was abundant opportunity to refer to any and every fault of the present system of government [...] when the faults of the present system were

pointed out & the chiefs felt them & then [they] pressed me with the question, Pehea la e pono ai [How shall we be pono]?" (Richards 1839:66).

Landownership

The 1839 French incident and the 1843 British takeover added great weight to Richard and Judd's arguments for the adoption of private ownership of land. They insisted that once Hawaiian land was owned in fee that foreign nations could not legally take the land. Heretofore, all Hawaiians had interest in and rights to the land, as it was a primary source of food. *Ali'i nui* had ultimate control over the lands, but *maka'āinana* had ancient and irrefutable usufruct rights. No one owned the land in the Western sense nor was land bought or sold.

Prominent Christian foreigners such as the kingdom's attorney general, William Little Lee, a New England lawyer hired by Judd, and Lee's best friend Charles Reed Bishop, the first banker of the kingdom, promised the *ali'i nui* that private ownership of land meant protection of Hawai'i's sovereignty as well as great economic prosperity for the nation. Moreover, American missionaries had long argued that Hawaiians were dying as they were lazy and licentious, and therefore the only means that would stem the death of the people was private ownership of land. From that point of view, the change in land tenure was the *pono* thing to do.

Finally in 1848, the king and *ali'i nui* reluctantly agreed to the privatization of land, which became perhaps the greatest mistake they had ever made as it quickly allowed foreigners to buy Hawai'i. The Land Commission headed by Richards divided the lands between the government, al*i'i nui* and *maka'āinana*. There were about 88,000 Hawaiians in 1848. Only 8,200 *maka'āinana* received land awards, and most awards were only three acre lots; *maka'āinana* received only 1% of the lands from the Land Commission. While the 34 *ali'i* received much larger portions of land, they were required to relinquish at least 50% of their former holdings.

Most of the lands became government lands and were sold to foreigners, in order to establish a capitalist economy by means of foreign investment. Missionaries received 560 acres a piece as reward for their work in Christianizing and enlightening the kingdom; the multinational corporations of Castle and Cooke, and Alexander and Baldwin began this way. By 1893, even most of the *ali'i nui* lands were controlled by foreigners, if not by outright sale or mortgage default, then as trustees on the boards of the *ali'i nui* estates.

Haole Building Up of Economic Control

With the availability of privately owned land, foreigners and former missionaries invested heavily in extensive sugar plantations. These investors included people like Judd, Lee and Bishop, who had argued most vehemently for the change. In fact, Lee and Bishop were business partners and made fabulous fortunes in sugar. As sugar plantations sprang up across the land, America emerged as their most lucrative market. In 1848, America acquired California and Oregon, which brought America closer still.

By 1853, planters had become disgruntled as they discovered that America charged a duty on all imported sugar to protect the American sugar industry. American businessmen and Hawai'i born American missionary descendants began to demand annexation of Hawai'i to America as a territory. Suddenly they were willing to sacrifice Hawaiian independence if it meant they would make more money. No longer would "friendly" foreign advisers protect Hawaiians from "rapacious" foreign merchants; instead they became business partners.

1853 was also a year of the smallpox epidemic which brought the population count down to 80,000. Fearful of the fate of his people and upon Judd's dire warnings of some European takeover, Kamehameha III began to contemplate a cession of the kingdom to America, but only if Hawai'i would be admitted as a state. Negotiations stymied when congress balked at granting statehood to a nation of non-Whites. In 1854, the beleaguered king Kauikeaouli died at age 41, leaving his 20 year old nephew, Liholiho 'Iolani, to rule as Kamehameha IV.

Immediatley Liholiho cancelled the annexation negotiations, declaring to foreigners that if they sought to betray Hawaiian independence they should leave the country. He promoted stronger ties with Great Britain to counterbalance the power of America, and Queen Victoria stood as godmother to his son. Liholiho led a marked change in *ali'i nui* behavior; he no longer implicitly trusted those Calvinists who had educated him, and he offered a new *pono* more conducive to Hawaiian custom. Hawaiian monarchs thereafter would be wary of their American missionary "friends."

Considered the most brilliant of the Kamehameha dynasty, he spoke English and French, had travelled through Europe and had been well received in British and French society. In America, however, he had been thrown off a train for being a nigger, and he knew firsthand of the racism dwelling in the hearts of those American missionaries who desired his country (in Adler (ed.) 1967).

Concerned about the steady decline in the Native population, especially from the ravages of the venereal disease brought by foreigners, Liholiho built what came to be known as Queen's hosptital to offer free medical care to his people. Calvinists spoke against the hospital, arguing that free medical care would make prostitution safe, and that Hawaiians deserved to die if they were immoral (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:312).

Calvinist were also afraid of their children mingling with the Native children. Missionaries demanded Hawaiian land for a separate school (Punahou) where their children could be educated without undue heathen influence, and they actively discouraged any intermarriage between Whites and Hawaiians.

Political Control of a Sugar-Coated Fortress

As Hawaiian kings rejected American racism and chose to ignore missionary advice, Calvinists thought of replacing the *ali'i nui* with their own children, and began to groom them to take over the government. With the economic control they had gained through the privatization of land, American missionary families came to desire full political control. The latter could only be achieved by closer economic ties to America.

As early as 1856, sugar planters petitioned for a reciprocity treaty; Hawai'i grown sugar should be admitted into America duty free, while American products shipped to Hawai'i would enjoy similar benefits. The Hawaiian market being so small, America was not really interested, and congress wanted to protect its own domestic sugar industry. Hawaiian monarchs did not actively pursue the treaty either, as they were wary of closer ties with America. However, for the next 40 years, American sugar planters would propose annexation or reciprocity as a solution to the fluctuating nature of sugar profits.

The American civil war made sugar grown in Hawai'i increasingly lucrative. More plantations were opened and a larger labor force was needed. By 1872, there were only 51,000 Hawaiians left, and planters seriously considered the importation of more foreigners to work their plantations. By 1890, they would import 55,000 Asians to work in their fields.

However, the problem of a duty free American market persisted and prominent banker Charles Bishop proposed a new solution. Bishop invited General Schofield of the American Navy to survey Pearl Harbor as a possible coaling station, and eventual American military base in the

Pacific, in exchange for Hawai'i grown sugar to enter America duty-free. Bishop shrewdly guessed that the American congress would be more amenable to a reciprocity treaty if the military supported the proposal. American sugar planters in Hawai'i loved the idea! (Kuykendall 1953: 247-50).

Native Hawaiians were absolutely opposed to the cession of Pearl Harbor to America, and their public outcry was enough to halt open negotiations, although they continued in secret. Queen Emma, Liholiho's widow, remarked on Americans living in Hawai'i:

"I like the excessive *impudance of that race. What people possessed of any love of country, patriotism, identity and loyalty can calmly sit and allow foreigners to their soil arrogating to themselves the right of proposing cession of the native born's soil, in spite of their unanimous protests? My blood boils with resentment against this insult"* (Queen Emma to Peter Ka'eo, letter of July 18, 1873, from Korn 1976:26).

In 1874, David Kalākaua was elected to the Hawaiian throne, some say by fraudulent means engineered by American businessmen, over the decidedly anti-American former Queen Emma. Hawaiians rioted when they discovered that Emma had not been elected, and American troops were landed to quell the riot.

Kalākaua owed a debt to American businessmen and his first act as king was to journey to Washington to plead for a reciprocity treaty. Congress was persuaded by the charming and erudite Kalākaua to pass the long awaited treaty, without the cession of Pearl Harbor! When Kalākaua returned to Honolulu he expected sugar planters to be grateful for his assistance and to support his reforms.

Kalākaua had a vision of a new Hawaiian *pono* and his motto was Ho'oulu Lāhui, or increase the race. He believed that by reviving Hawaiian pride, by throwing out the seed of self-doubt planted in the Hawaiian breast by Bingham and his cohorts, that Hawaiian depopulation would cease. Toward this end, Kalākaua revived the *hula*, forbidden by the Calvinists, and sanctioned its use at court as the national dance. He built the beautiful and inspiring 'Iolani palace, when most buildings in Honolulu were ramshakle wooden shops surrounded by dusty dirt roads.

It was Kalākaua who re-established the ancient Hale Nauā society to foster the study and collection of Hawaiian traditions. He learned how to play the election game and packed the legislature with his supporters.

Kalākaua even wanted the legislature to fund a Hawaiian navy and standing army to protect the nation against invasion, and he proposed uniting with Sāmoa and Tahiti to form an Oceanic alliance.

American missionary descendants were outraged and soundly denounced the "recrudescence of heathenism [...] encouraged by the lascivious hulahula dancers [...] and evinced by pagan orgies" (Alexander 1896). They formed a secret league to plot the overthrow of the Hawaiian government and imported rifles to distribute to White foreign businessmen in Honolulu.

The leader of the missionary faction was Lorrin Thurston, a grandson of one of the first missionaries to land in Hawai'i. In 1887, he wrote what has become known as the Bayonet constitution, which gave White foreigners, even those who had not taken the oath of allegiance, the power to control the Hawaiian legislature and cabinet. With an American warship in the harbor, and facing an American led rifle league, Kalākaua was forced to sign this constitution, and he became a figure head monarch. One week later, a new reciprocity treaty was made with America, one that included the cession of Pearl Harbor. At long last Americans had gained the military tie that would eventually ensure them annexation, and the wishes of the Native Hawaiians were dismissed as the foolish notions of an uncivilized dark race.

Hawaiian Resistance

The 1887 Bayonet constitution represented the loss of Hawaiian control in the determination of what was *pono* for Hawaiians, and it was a direct blow to Hawaiian sovereignty. While Kalākaua's power as *mō'ī* was curbed by the likes of Thurston, Hawaiians did not acquiesce to the situation. Hawaiian politicians organized themselves into strong political leagues whose main aim was to restore the old pro-Hawaiian constitution; they called themselves Hui Kālai'aina and Hui Aloha 'Āina.

One Hawaiian who had been trained in military science and was a cousin of Kalākaua, Robert Wilcox, even tried to mount an armed rebellion in order to overturn the new pro-*haole* constitution. Ultimately Wilcox failed because of insufficient firepower in the face of American marines who were landed expressly to repress his rebellion, and to arrest him. Thurston and his gang were outraged when an all Hawaiian jury subsequently found Wilcox innocent of any wrongdoing.

Kalākaua died in 1891 and his sister Lili'uokalani followed him to the throne. Immediately she began to receive petitions from her Hawaiian

people to give them a new constitution; one that would take power away from the *haole* who were running the country and restore it to Hawaiians. The Queen waited until 1893, when the resident American warship was out of Honolulu harbor, to proclaim a new constitution requested by the Hawaiian people. Unfortunately, her *haole* advisors in the cabinet refused to sign the constitution or to support her, and she could not announce it as planned. In fact, her ministers ran straight to Thurston's law office to inform him of the new development.

Thurston used this attempt as an excuse to call for the overthrow of the Queen and he was supported by those same American businessmen who had helped make the Bayonet constitution, as well as by the U.S. minister to Hawai'i, John L. Stevens. The U.S. warship returned and Stevens landed the American marines once more, recognizing Thurston and his friends as the "Provisional Government" of Hawai'i and supporting their revolution against Queen Lili'uokalani.

As Kamehameha III had done 50 years before, the Queen yielded to the superior military might of America until such time as the American government would have seen the wrong that had been done in its name, and would restore the government to the Hawaiian monarch as Britain had done previously. However, the American military wanted Hawai'i and it convinced congress that Hawai'i should become a territory. Sanford Dole, the president of the provisional government advised that Hawaiians should not be allowed to vote on the change of Hawai'i to an American territory as Hawaiians were "like children, and if allowed they would vote to remain a kingdom."

At long last, Hawaiian sovereignty was in American hands and Hawaiian *pono* thereby suffered a terrible blow.

Pule for Our Hawaiian Nation

May the *mana* of our ancestors return to us
May the *mana* of our *kūpuna* arm us once again for battle
We are *nā koa ikaika*, the strong warriors
O ye gods smile on us
Maintain our confidence and self-esteem
Strengthen our nation as we rejoice in our unity
O ye gods smile on us.
Impact us with knowledge for our tasks ahead.
Then we shall bask in the generosity and warmth of our *'āina*
For, indeed, our Gods are one with us.

Lela M. Hubbard, March 1, 1991

E ke Akua lokomaika'i
Ho'iho'i hou mai 'ia mākou ka mana o ko mākou mau kūpuna
I hi'ki ko lākou mana, e paio hou aku
me mākou i nā pōpilikia o neia mau lā
E ke akua nānā aloha mai 'ia mākou
Ho'omau i ko mākou hiliha'i a me ko mākou kukaulani iho
Lapalapa i ka moan ho'opā in nā kupa o ka 'āina
a ho'olono i ka heahea o ko lākou pu'uwai aloha
Ho'okūpa'a mai i ko mākou aupuni a hau'oli pu me ko mākou ikaika
kuleana a me ko mākou mana'o 'i'o
E ke Akua, nānā aloha mai 'ia mākou
Pahola mai i kou 'ike no nā hana o keia mua aku
Ha'awi mai 'ia mākou i ka 'uhane
aho nui a me ka pu'uwai hāmama aloha no nā ko'iko'i o mua aku
I kū mākou a lala me ka hau'oli pumehana o ka 'āina
No ka mea, ke kū lōkahi nei ko mākou akua me mākou
No ka mea, ke kū lōkahi nei ke Akua me mākou.

Translation by Kupuna Elizabeth Ellis

A Friendly State Being Robbed of Its Independence and Sovereignty

By Grover Cleveland

A hundred years ago, the United States invaded the Hawaiian Kingdom, landing troops in support of a small group of American led businessmen who proceeded criminally to take control of the Hawaiian government. Later in the same year, 1893, when Grover Cleveland became president of the United States of America, he ordered an investigation, to be carried out by James H. Blount, into "the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawai'i, and the installment in its place of the provisional government." Mr. Blount's report and evidence is the basis for the following "Message to the Senate and House of Representatives," here reprinted in its full length, concluding that the United States, "can not fail to vindicate its honor and its sense of justice by an earnest effort to make all possible reparation." Italics added. – *The editors*

President's Message Relating to the Hawaiian Islands, December 18, 1893

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In my recent annual message to the Congress I briefly referred to our relations with Hawaii and expressed the intention of transmitting further information on the subject when additional advices permitted.

Though I am not able now to report a definite change in the actual situation, I am convinced that the difficulties lately created both here and in Hawaii and now standing in the way of a solution through Executive action of the problem presented, render it proper, and expedient, that the matter should be referred to the broader authority and discretion of Congress, with a full explanation of the endeavor thus far made to deal with the emergency and a statement of the considerations which have governed my action.

I suppose that right and justice should determine the path to be followed in treating this subject. If national honesty is to be disregarded and a desire for territorial extension, or dissatisfaction with a form of government not

Honolulu's businessmen sharpshooters poised for the overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation, January 17, 1893. This and sixteen other gangs of armed haole businessmen patrolled the streets of Honolulu intimidating Native Hawaiians – some of whom were killed. Among the fifty men with rifles and bullet bandoleers shown above are many representatives of Hawai'i's richest landholding families of this century. They include Campbell (17), Castle (8), Damon (41), Dillingham (11), Judd (42) and many others. Text: John Kelly. Photo: Hawai'i State Archives.

our own, ought to regulate our conduct, I have entirely misapprehended the mission and character of our Government and the behavior which the conscience of our people demands of their public servants.

When the present Administration entered upon its duties the Senate had under consideration a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the territory of the United States. Surely under our Constitution and laws the enlargement of our limits is a manifestation of the highest attribute of sovereignty, and if entered upon as an Executive act, all things relating to the transaction should be clear and free from suspicion. Additional importance attached to this particular treaty of annexation, because it contemplated a departure from unbroken American tradition in providing for the addition to our territory of islands of the sea more than two thousand miles removed from our nearest coast.

These considerations might not of themselves call for interference with the completion of a treaty entered upon by a previous Administration. *But it appeared from the documents accompanying the treaty when submitted to the Senate, that the ownership of Hawaii was tendered to us by a provisional government set up to succeed the constitutional ruler of the islands, who had been dethroned, and it did not appear that such provisional government had the sanction of either popular revolution or*

suffrage. Two other remarkable features of the transaction naturally attracted attention. One was the extraordinary haste – not to say precipitancy – characterizing all the transactions connected with the treaty. It appeared that a so-called Committee of Safety, ostensibly the source of the revolt against the constitutional Government of Hawaii, was organized on Saturday, the 14th day of January; that on Monday, the 16th, the United States forces were landed at Honolulu from a naval vessel lying in its harbor; that on the 17th the scheme of a provisional government was perfected, and a proclamation naming its officers was on the same day prepared and read at the Government building; that immediately thereupon the United States Minister recognized the provisional government thus created; that two days afterwards, on the 19th day of January, commissioners representing such government sailed for this country in a steamer especially chartered for the occasion, arriving in San Francisco on the 28th day of January, and in Washington on the 3rd day of February; that on the next day they had their first interview with the Secretary of State, and another on the 11th, when the treaty of annexation was practically agreed upon, and that on the 14th it was formally concluded and on the 15th transmitted to the Senate. Thus between the initiation of the scheme for a provisional government in Hawaii on the 14th day of January and the submission to the Senate of the treaty of annexation concluded with such government, the entire interval was thirty-two days, fifteen of which were spent by the Hawaiian Commissioners in their journey to Washington.

In the next place, upon the face of the papers submitted with the treaty, it clearly appeared that there was open and undetermined an issue of fact of the most vital importance. The message of the President accompanying the treaty declared that " the overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this Government," and in a letter to the President from the Secretary of State, also submitted to the Senate with the treaty, the following passage occurs: "At the time the provisional govemment took possession of the Government buildings no troops or officers of the United States were present or took any part whatever in the proceedings. No public recognition was accorded to the provisional government by the United States Minister until after the Queen's abdication and when they were in effective possession of the Government buildings, the archives, the treasury, the barracks, the police station, and all the potential machinery of the Government." But a protest also accompanied said treaty, signed by the Queen and her ministers at the time she made way for the provisional government, which explicitly stated that she yielded to the superior force of the United States, whose Minister had caused United States troops to be

landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support such provisional government.

The truth or falsity of this protest was surely of the first importance. If true, nothing but the concealment of its truth could induce our Government to negotiate with the semblance of a government thus created, nor could a treaty resulting from the acts stated in the protest have been knowingly deemed worthy of consideration by the Senate. Yet the truth or falsity of the protest had not been investigated.

I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawaii, and the installment in its place of the provisional government. I selected for the work of investigation the Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, whose service of eighteen years as a member of the House of Representatives, and whose experience as chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in that body, and his consequent familiarity with international topics, joined with his high character and honorable reputation, seemed to render him peculiarly fitted for the duties entrusted to him. His report detailing his action under the instructions given to him and the conclusions derived from his investigation accompany this message.

These conclusions do not rest for their acceptance entirely upon Mr. Blount's honesty and ability as a man, nor upon his acumen aud impartiality as an investigator. They are accompanied by the evidence upon which they are based, which evidence is also herewith transmitted, and from which it seems to me no other deductions could possibly be reached than those arrived at by the Commissioner.

The report with its accompanying proofs, and such other evidence as is now before the Congress or is herewith submitted, justifies in my opinion the statement that when the President was led to submit the treaty to the Senate with the declaration that " the overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this Government", and when the Senate was induced to receive and discuss it on that basis, both President and Senate were misled.

The attempt will not be made in this communication to touch upon all the facts which throw light upon the progress and consummation of this scheme of annexation. A very brief and imperfect reference to the facts and evidence at hand will exhibit its character and the incidents in which it had its birth.

It is unnecessary to set forth the reasons which in January, 1893, led a considerable proportion of American and other foreign merchants and traders residing at Honolulu to favor the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. It is sufficient to note the fact and to observe that the project was one which was zealously promoted by the Minister representing the United States in that country. He evidently had an ardent desire that it should become a fact accomplished by his agency and during his ministry, and was not inconveniently scrupulous as to the means employed to that end. On the 19th day of November, 1892, nearly two months before the first overt act tending towards the subversion of the Hawaiian Government and the attempted transfer of Hawaiian territory to the United States, he addressed a long letter to the Secretary of State in which the case for annexation was elaborately argued, on moral, political, and economical grounds. He refers to the loss to the Hawaiian sugar interests from the operation of the McKinley bill, and the tendency to still further depreciation of sugar property unless some positive measure of relief is granted. He strongly inveighs against the existing Hawaiian Government and emphatically declares for annexation. He says: " In truth the monarchy here is an absurd anachronism. It has nothing on which it logically or legitimately stands. The feudal basis on which it once stood no longer existing, the monarchy now is only an impediment to good government – an obstruction to the prosperity and progress of the islands."

He further says: "As a crown colony of Great Britain or a Territory of the United States the government modifications could be made readily and good administration of the law secured. Destiny and the vast future interests of the United States in the Pacific clearly indicate who at no distant day must be responsible for the govermnent of these islands. Under a territorial government they could be as easily governed as any of the existing Territories of the United States." * * * "Hawaii has reached the parting of the ways. She must now take the road which leads to Asia, or the other which outlets her in America, gives her an American civilization, and binds her to the care of American destiny." He also declares: "One of two courses seems to me absolutely necessary to be followed, either bold and vigorous measures for annexation or a 'customs union,' an ocean cable from the Californian coast to Honolulu, Pearl Harbor perpetually ceded to the United States, with an implied but not expressly stipulated American protectorate over the islands. I believe the former to be the better, that which will prove much the more advantageous to the islands, and the cheapest and least embarrassing in the end to the United States. If it was

wise for the United States through Secretary Marcy thirty-eight years ago to offer to expend $100,000 to secure a treaty of annexation, it certainly can not be chimerical or unwise to expend $100,000 to secure annexation in the near future. To-day the United States has five times the wealth she possessed in 1854, and the reasons now existing for annexation are much stronger than they were then. I can not refrain from expressing the opinion with emphasis that the golden hour is near at hand."

These declarations certainly show a disposition and condition of mind, which may be usefully recalled when interpreting the significance of the Minister's conceded acts or when considering the probabilities of such conduct on his part as may not be admitted.

In this view it seems proper to also quote from a letter written by the Minister to the Secretary of State on the 8th day of March, 1892, nearly a year prior to the first step taken toward annexation. After stating the possibility that the existing Government of Hawaii might be overturned by an orderly and peaceful revolution, Minister Stevens writes as follows: "Ordinarily in like circumstances, the rule seems to be to limit the landing and movement of United States forces in foreign waters and dominion exclusively to the protection of the United States legation and of the lives and property of American citizens. But as the relations of the United States to Hawaii are exceptional, and in former years the United States officials here took somewhat exceptional action in circumstances of disorder, I desire to know how far the present Minister and naval commander may deviate from established international rules and precedents in the contingencies indicated in the first part of this dispatch."

To a minister of this temper full of zeal for annexation there seemed to arise in January, 1893, the precise opportunity for which he was watchfully waiting – an opportunity which by timely "deviation from established international rules and precedents" might be improved to successfully accomplish the great object in view; and we are quite prepared for the exultant enthusiasm with which in a letter to the State Department dated February 1, 1893, he declares: " The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."

As a further illustration of the activity of this diplomatic representative, attention is called to the fact that on the day the above letter was written, apparently unable longer to restrain his ardor. he issued a proclamation whereby "in the name of the United States" he assumed the protection of the Hawaiian Islands and declared that said action was "taken pending and subject to negotiations at Washington." Of course this assumption of a protectorate was promptly disavowed by our Government, but the Ameri-

can flag remained over the Government building at Honolulu and the forces remained on guard until April, and after Mr. Blount's arrival on the scene, when both were removed.

A brief statement of the occurrences that led to the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawaii in the interests of annexation to the United States will exhibit the true complexion of that transaction.

On Saturday, January 14th, 1893, the Queen of Hawaii, who had been contemplating the proclamation of a new constitution, had, in deference to the wishes and remonstrances of her cabinet, renounced the project for the present at least. Taking this relinquished purpose as a basis of action, citizens of Honolulu numbering from fifty to one hundred, mostly resident aliens, met in a private office and selected a so-called Committee of Safety, composed of thirteen persons, seven of whom were foreign subjects, and consisted of five Americans, one Englishman, and one German. This committee, though its designs were not revealed, had in view nothing less than annexation to the United States, and between Saturday, the 14th, and the following Monday, the 16th of January – though exactly what action was taken may not be clearly disclosed – they were certainly in communication with the United States Minister. On Monday morning the Queen and her cabinet made public proclamation, with a notice which was specially served upon the representatives of all foreign governments, that any changes in the constitution would be sought only in the methods provided by that instrument. Nevertheless, at the call and under the auspices of the Committee of Safety, a mass meeting of citizens was held on that day to protest against the Queen's alleged illegal and unlawful proceedings and purposes. Even at this meeting the Committee of Safety continued to disguise their real purpose and contented themselves with procuring the passage of a resolution denouncing the Queen and empowering the committee to devise ways and means "to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty, and property in Hawaii." This meeting adjourned between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. On the same day, and immediately after such adjournment, the committee, unwilling to take further steps without the cooperation of the United States Minister, addressed him a note representing that the public safety was menaced and that lives and property were in danger, and concluded as follows: "We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces." Whatever may be thought of the other contents of this note, the absolute truth of this latter statement is incontestable. When the note was written and delivered, the committee, so far as it appears, had neither a man nor a gun at their

command, and after its delivery they became so panic-stricken at their position that they sent some of their number to interview the Minister and request him not to land the United States forces till the next morning. But he replied that the troops had been ordered, and whether the committee were ready or not the landing should take place. And so it happened that on the 16th day of January, 1893, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, a detachment of marines from the United States steamer *Boston*, with two pieces of artillery, landed at Honolulu. The men, upwards of 160 in all, were supplied with double cartridge belts filled with ammunition and with haversacks and canteens, and were accompanied by a hospital corps with stretchers and medical supplies. This military demonstration upon the soil of Honolulu was of itself an act of war, unless made either with the consent of the Government of Hawaii or for the *bona fide* purpose of protecting the imperilled lives and property of citizens of the United States. But there is no pretense of any such consent on the part of the Government of the Queen, which at that time was undisputed and was both the *de facto* and the *de jure* govermnent. In point of fact the existing government instead of requesting the presence of an armed force protested against it. There is as little basis for the pretense that such forces were landed for the security of American life and property. If so, they would have been stationed in the vicinity of such property and so as to protect it, instead of at a distance and so as to command the Hawaiian Government building and palace. Admiral Skerrett, the officer in command of our naval force on the Pacific station, has frankly stated that in his opinion the location of the troops was inadvisable if they were landed for the protection of American citizens whose residences and places of business, as well as the legation and consulate, were in a distant part of the city, but the location selected was a wise one if the forces were landed for the purpose of supporting the provisional government. If any peril to life and property calling for any such martial array had existed, Great Britain and other foreign powers interested would not have been behind the United States in activity to protect their citizens. But they made no sign in that direction. When these armed men were landed, the city of Honolulu was in its customary orderly and peaceful condition. There was no symptom of riot or disturbance in any quarter. Men, women, and children were about the streets as usual, and nothing varied the ordinary routine or disturbed the ordinary tranquillity, except the landing of the *Boston's* marines and their march throngh the town to the quarters assigned them. Indeed, the fact that after having called for the landing of the United States forces on the plea of danger to life and property the Committce of Safety themselves requested the Minister to

postpone action, exposed the untruthfulness of their representations of present peril to life and property. The peril they saw was an anticipation growing out of guilty intentions on their part and something which, though not then existing, they knew would certainly follow their attempt to overthrow the Government of the Queen without the aid of the United States forces.

Thus it appears that Hawaii was taken possession of by the United States forces without the consent or wish of the government of the islands, or of anybody else so far as shown, except the United States Minister.

Therefore the military occupation of Hawaii by the United States on the day mentioned was wholly without justification, either as an occupation by consent or as an occupation necessitated by dangers threatening American life and property. It must be accounted for in some other way and on some other ground, and its real motive and purpose are neither obscure nor far to seek.

The United States forces being now on the scene and favorably stationed, the committee proceeded to carry out their original scheme. They met the next morning, Tuesday, the 17th, perfected the plan of temporary government, and fixed upon its principal officers, ten of whom were drawn from the thirteen members of the Committee of Safety. Between one and two o'clock, by squads and by different routes to avoid notice, and having first taken the precaution of ascertaining whether there was any one there to oppose them, they proceeded to the Government building to proclaim the new government. No sign of opposition was manifest, and thereupon an American citizen began to read the proclamation from the steps of the Government building almost entirely without auditors. It is said that before the reading was finished quite a concourse of persons, variously estimated at from 50 to 100, some armed and some unarmed, gathered about the committee to give them aid and confidence. This statement is not important, since the one controlling factor in the whole affair was unquestionably the United States marines, who, drawn up under arms and with artillery in readiness only seventy-six yards distant, dominated the situation.

The provisional government thus proclaimed was by the terms of the proclamation "to exist until terms of union with the United States had been negotiated and agreed upon". The United States Minister, pursuant to prior agreement, recognized this government within an hour after the reading of the proclamation, and before five o'clock, in answer to an inquiry on behalf of the Queen and her cabinet, announced that he had done so.

When our Minister recognized the provisional government the only

basis upon which it rested was the fact that the Committee of Safety had in the manner above stated declared it to exist. It was neither a government *de facto* nor *de jure*. That it was not in such possession of the Government property and agencies as entitled it to recognition is conclusively proved by a note found in the files of the Legation at Honolulu, addressed by the declared head of the provisional government to Minister Stevens, dated January17,1893, in which he acknowledges with expressions of appreciation the Minister's recognition of the provisional government, and states that it is not yet in the possession of the station house (the place where a large number of the Queen's troops were quartered), though the same had been demanded of the Queen's officers in charge. Nevertheless, this wrongful recognition by our Minister placed the Government of the Queen in a position of most perilous perplexity. On the one hand she had possession of the palace, of the barracks, and of the police station, and had at her command at least five hundred fully armed men and several pieces of artillery. Indeed, the whole military force of her kingdom was on her side and at her disposal, while the Committee of Safety, by actual search, had discovered that there were but very few arms in Honolulu that were not in the service of the Government. In this state of things if the Queen could have dealt with the insurgents alone her course would have been plain and the result unmistakable. But the United States had allied itself with her

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"I Lili'uokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a provisional government of and for this Kingdom.

"That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellence John L. Stevens, has caused United States' troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

"Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

Queen Lili'uokalani, January 17, 1893

enemies, had recognized them as the true Government of Hawaii, and had put her and her adherents in the position of opposition against lawful authority. She knew that she could not withstand the power of the United States, but she believed that she might safely trust to its justice. Accordingly, some hours after the recognition of the provisional government by

the United States Minister, the palace, the barracks, and the police station, with all the military resources of the country, were delivered up by the Queen upon the representation made to her that her cause would thereafter be reviewed at Washington, and while protesting that she surrendered to the superior force of the United States, whose Minister had caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the provisioual government, and that *she yielded her authority to prevent collision of armed forces and loss of life and only until such time as the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should undo the action of its representative and reinstate her in the authority she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.*

This protest was delivered to the chief of the provisional government, who endorsed thereon his acknowledgment of its receipt. The terms of the protest were read without dissent by those assuming to constitute the provisional government, who were certainly charged with the knowledge that the Queen instead of finally abandoning her power had appealed to the justice of the United States for reinstatement in her authority; and yet the provisional government with this unanswered protest in its hand hastened to negotiate with the United States for the permanent banishment of the Queen from power and for a sale of her kingdom.

Our country was in danger of occupying the position of having actually set up a temporary government on foreign soil for the purpose of acquiring through that agency territory which we had wrongfully put in its possession. The control of both sides of a bargain acquired in such a manner is called by a familiar and unpleasant name when found in private transactions. We are not without a precedent showing how scrupulously we avoided such accusations in former days. After the people of Texas had declared their independence of Mexico they resolved that on the acknowledgement of their independence by the United States they would seek admission into the Union. Several months after the battle of San Jacinto, by which Texan independence was practically assured and established, President Jackson declined to recognize it, alleging as one of his reasons that in the circumstances it became us " to beware of a too early movement, as it might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbors to a territory with a view to its subsequent acquisition by ourselves". This is in marked contrast with the hasty recognition of a government openly and concededly set up for the purpose of tendering to us territorial annexation.

I believe that a candid and thorough examination of the facts will force the conviction that *the provisional government owes its existence to an*

armed invasion by the United States. Fair-minded people with the evidence before them will hardly claim that the Hawaiian Government was overthrown by the people of the islands or that the provisional government had ever existed with their consent. I do not understand that any member of this government claims that the people would uphold it by their suffrages if they were allowed to vote on the question.

While naturally sympathizing with every effort to establish a republican form of government, *it has been the settled policy of the United States to concede to people of foreign countries the same freedom and independence in the management of their domestic affairs that we have always claimed for ourselves*; and it has been our practice to recognize revolutionary governments as soon as it became apparent that they were supported by the people. For illustration of this rule I need only to refer to the revolution in Brazil in 1889 when our Minister was instructed to recognize the Republic "so soon as a majority of the people of Brazil should have signified their assent to its establishment and maintenance"; to the revolution in Chile in 1891, when our Minister was directed to recognize the new government "if it was accepted by the people"; and to the revolution in Venezuela in 1892, when our recognition was accorded on condition that the new government was "fully established, in possession of the power of the nation, and accepted by the people."

As I apprehend the situation, we are brought face to face with the following conditions:

The lawful Government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives.

But for the notorious predilections of the United States Minister for annexation, the Committee of Safety, which should be called the Committee of Annexation, would never have existed.

But for the landing of the United States forces upon false pretexts respecting the danger to life and property the committee would never have exposed themselves to the pains and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the Queen's Government.

But for the presence of the United States forces in the immediate vicinity and in position to afford all needed protection and support the committee would not have proclaimed the provisional government from the steps of the Government building.

And finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false

pretexts by the United States forces, and but for Minister Stevens's recognition of the provisional government when the United States forces were its sole support and constituted its only military strength, the Queen and her Government would never have yielded to the provisional government, even for a time and for the sole purpose of submitting her case to the enlightened justice of the United States.

Believing, therefore, that the United States could not, under the circumstances disclosed, annex the islands without justly incurring the imputation of acquiring them by unjustifiable methods, I shall not again submit the treaty of annexation to the Senate for its consideration, and in the instructions to Minister Willis, a copy of which accompanies this message, I have directed him to so inform the provisional government.

But in the present instance our duty does not, in my opinion, end with refusing to consummate this questionable transaction. It has been the boast of our Government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals. I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory.

By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair. The provisional government has not assumed a republican or other constitutional form, but has remained a mere executive council or oligarchy, set up without the assent of the people. It has not sought to find a permanent basis of popular support and has given no evidence of an intention to do so. Indeed, the representatives of that government assert that the people of Hawaii are unfit for popular government and frankly avow that they can be best ruled by arbitrary or despotic power.

The law of nations is founded upon reason and justice, and the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized state are equally applicable as between enlightened nations. The considerations that international law is without a court for its enforcement, and that obedience to its commands practically depends upon good faith, instead of upon the mandate of a superior tribunal, only give additional sanction to the law itself and brand any deliberate infraction of it not merely

as a wrong but as a disgrace. A man of true honor protects the unwritten word which binds his conscience more scrupulously, if possible, than he does the bond a breach of which subjects him to legal liabilities; and the United States in aiming to maintain itself as one of the most enlightened of nations would do its citizens gross injustice if it applied to its international relations any other than a high standard of honor and morality. On that ground the United States can not properly be put in the position of countenancing a wrong after its commission any more than in that of consenting to it in advance. *On that ground it can not allow itself to refuse to redress an injury inflicted through an abuse of power by officers clothed with its authority and wearing its uniform; and on the same ground, if a feeble but friendly state is in danger of being robbed of its independence and its sovereignty by a misuse of the name and power of the United States, the United States can not fail to vindicate its honor and its sense of justice by an earnest effort to make all possible reparation.*

These principles apply to the present case with irresistible force when the special conditions of the Queen's surrender of her sovereignty are recalled. She surrendered not to the provisional government, but to the United States. She surrendered not absolutely and permanently, but temporarily and conditionally until such time as the facts could be considered by the United States. Furthermore, the provisional government acquiesced in her surrender in that manner and on those terms, not only by tacit consent, but through the positive acts of some members of that government who urged her peaceable submission, not merely to avoid bloodshed, but because she could place implicit reliance upon the justice of the United States, and that the whole subject would be finally considered at Washington.

I have not, however, overlooked an incident of this unfortunate affair which remains to be mentioned. The members of the provisional government and their supporters, though not entitled to extreme sympathy, have been led to their present predicament of revolt against the Government of the Queen by the indefensible encouragement and assistance of our diplomatic representative. This fact may entitle them to claim that in our effort to rectify the wrong committed some regard should be had for their safety. This sentiment is strongly seconded by my anxiety to do nothing which would invite either harsh retaliation on the part of the Queen or violence and bloodshed in any quarter. In the belief that the Queen, as well as her enemies, would be willing to adopt such a course as would meet these conditions, and in view of the fact that both the Queen and the provisional government had at one time apparently acquiesced in a reference of the entire case to the United States Government, and consid-

ering the further fact that in any event the provisional government by its own declared limitation was only "to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon," I hoped that after the assurance to the members of that government that such union could not be consummated I might compass a peaceful adjustment of the difficulty.

Actuated by these desires and purposes, and not unmindful of the inherent perplexities of the situation nor of the limitations upon my power, I instructed Minister Willis to advise the Queen and her supporters of my desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu on the 16th of January last, if such restoration could be effected upon terms providing for clemency as well as justice to all parties concerned. The conditions suggested, as the instructions show, contemplate a general amnesty to those concerned in setting up the provisional government and a recognition of all its *bona fide* acts and obligations. In short, they require that the past should be buried, and that the restored Government should reassume its authority as if its continuity had not been interrupted. These conditions have not proved acceptable to the Queen, and though she has been informed that they will be insisted upon, and that, unless acceded to, the efforts of the President to aid in the restoration of her Government will cease, I have not thus far learned that she is willing to yield them her acquiescence. The check which my plans have thus encountered has prevented their presentation to the members of the provisional government, while unfortunate public misrepresentations of the situation and exaggerated statements of the sentiments of our people have obviously injured the prospects of successful Executive mediation.

I therefore submit this communication with its accompanying exhibits, embracing Mr. Blount's report, the evidence and statements taken by him at Honolulu, the instructions given to both Mr. Blount and Minister Willis, and correspondence connected with the affair in hand.

In commending this subject to the extended powers and wide discretion of the Congress, I desire to add the assurance that I shall be much gratified to cooperate in any legislative plan which may be devised for the solution of the problem before us which is consistent with American honor, integrity, and morality.

Grover Cleveland
Executive Mansion, Washington, December 18, 1893.

Kahana. Photo: Ed Greevy.

Kaulana Nā Pua A'o Hawai'i

By Ellen Wright Prendergast
English translation by Andy Cummings

Kaulana nā pua a'o Hawai'i
Kūpa'a mahope o ka 'āina
Hiki mai ka 'elele i ka loko 'ino
Palapala 'ānunu me ka pākaha.

You valiant youth flower of Hawai'i's people
Pledge your allegiance, be loyal to your land
Now has come a messenger with a heart of evil
with an avaricious document to swindle.

Pane mai Hawai'i moku o Keawe.
Kōkua nā Hono a'o Pi'ilani.
Kāko'o mai Kaua'i o Mano
Pa'apū me ke one o Kākuhihewa.

Answer now Hawai'i, island of Keawe.
Come on and help all you towns of Pi'ilani.
Support us too Kaua'i of Mano
Come and join with the people of Kākuhihewa.

'A'ole 'a'e kau i ka pūlima
Maluna o ka pepa o ka 'enemi
Ho'ohui 'āina kū'ai hewa
I ka pono sivila a'o ke kanaka.

Do not affix your hand, don't you sign your name
Onto the document proposed by the enemy
Let's regain our lands taken by fraud
Reaffirming civil rights, a basic right of mankind.

'A'ole mākou a'e minamina
I ka pu'ukālā a ke aupuni,
Ua lawa mākou i pōhaku,
I ka 'ai kamaha'o o ka 'āina.

We shall not hesitate, nor will we regret it
If we're ask'd to give our dollars to the kingdom,
We will survive though we must all eat stones,
The food so astonishing of this land.

Mahope mākou o Lili'u-lani
A loa'a 'ē ka pono o ka 'āina.
Ha'ina 'ia mai ana ka puana
Ka po'e i aloha i ka 'āina.

Let us support Lili'uokalani
So we can still retain the rights to our land.
In summarizing, the moral of this story
Is of a people who have always loved their land.

Keawe: *ali'i* of the island of Hawai'i; Pi'ilani: *ali'i* of the island of Maui; Mano-(kalanipō): *ali'i* of the island of Kaua'i; Kākuhihewa: *ali'i* of the island of O'ahu.

"This is a song of the Hawaiians' love for their land. The loyal subjects of the Hawaiian kingdom will long be remembered throughout the world for their firm and courageous defense of their beloved land. At the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, representatives of the new government attempted to bribe the Hawaiians to renounce their loyalty to Queen Lili'uokalani. Loyal Hawaiians from Hawai'i, Maui and Kaua'i joined with their brothers and sisters on O'ahu in refusing to betray their homeland by selling their gloriuos heritage for a mess of pottage. All agreed their willingness to subsist by eating stones, the mystic food of the land. They supported the queen in her efforts to perpetuate the life of the land in righteousness. They sincerely prayed that the queen be restored to her rightful throne" (the subtext of the song, as recorded by Eleanor Prendergast, the composer's daughter, quoted in Noyes 1993).

We Will Eat Stones

On an afternoon in the late January 1893, every member save two of the Royal Hawaiian Band arrived at the house of Ellen Keho'ohiwaokalani Prendergast, who was a close friend of the royal family, an intimate of the queen and composer of music. They told Mrs. Prendergast of an offer they had received: Sign an oath of loyalty to the "Provisional Government" and you will be paid money. They told her they would not sign the *haoles'* paper. They told her they would be satisfied with nothing more than the stones – the *pōhaku* – the mystic food of the land.

In response, Ellen Prendergast composed "*He Lei No Ka Po'e Aloha 'Āina*" that became known as "*Mele 'Āi Pōhaku*" (The Stone-Eating Song) and "*Mele Aloha 'Āina*" (The Patriots' Song). *Pōhaku*, stones, are possessed of spirit – *mana*, mystical and potent. The song quickly circulated among Hawaiians, later renamed as "Kaulana Nā Pua" or "Famous are the Flowers."

Throughout history, a people dispossessed have always found a way in music and in dance to speak aloud their true feelings, while biding time for their dispossession to be remedied. "Kaulana Nā Pua," written 100 years ago, remains to this day a melodic protest against Hawaiians' loss of self-determination, the loss of their sovereign nation.

From Martha H. Noyes: "We Will Eat Stones", Honolulu Magazine, January 1993:20-23.

The Kona Story

16th and 17th Century Hawaiian Enhancement of the Environment

By Marion Kelly

Some of us who have experienced the long-term consequences of development in Hawai'i have concluded that any development of land must, by its very nature, produce an overwhelmingly negative impact on the environment. Relying on our past experiences just the word, development, once felt to have such a positive meaning, now brings forth the images of carnage and destruction, of bulldozers scraping all growing things from the earth, leaving it bare and waiting to be covered with a great blanket of cement, sealing forever its doom.

In our island world, whenever the land is bulldozed, denuded of all plant life, what were once gentle, life-giving, nightly rains now turn into their opposite. Even nutritious rain becomes a destructive force robbing the land of its precious top soil, eroding it, sending it flowing into the ocean, smothering the coral reefs in mud. Thus, both land and sea are devastated.

Modern "development" can destroy forests that have taken centuries to grow. Streams that formerly meandered through the valleys, sharing their life-giving water with the thirsty plains, can be turned into sterile cement channels. So-called "development" can turn productive, cultivated landscapes into urban highrise cement jungles.

Developers, in general, do not give high priority to preserving the natural, cultural and historic resources of Hawai'i. Their primary motive is to build the greatest number of hotel rooms, housing units, or stories on tall office buildings that can be squeezed onto their land. In increasing numbers they also want to build golf courses on their recently-purchased thousands of acres. All this, in order to provide themselves and their investors with the highest monetary return on their investment. The problem is, of course, systemic. There was, however, in Hawaiian times a type of "development" that enhanced the quality of the land, assured an increased productivity in terms of food and economic plants and enabled Hawaiians, as their population grew, to sustain their modest life style without an irreversible negative impact on the environment. Indeed, the impact of this "development" was an enhancement of the environment and thus of the productivity of a whole district.

On the Island of Hawai'i, perhaps in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Hawaiians were involved in a "development" project that stretched from North Kona to South Kona. They planted a breadfruit forest that may have taken half a century or more to complete – but, because the long-range benefits were obvious to them, they persisted and achieved their goal.

Hawaiian society was not static. No society ever really is. Perhaps it was slow to change, but it did change; it developed over the centuries, and what remains continues to change, yes, is changing, even today. In the process of forming their uniquely Hawaiian culture, Hawaiians, when they were in control of their lives, adopted rules that helped them protect their resources.

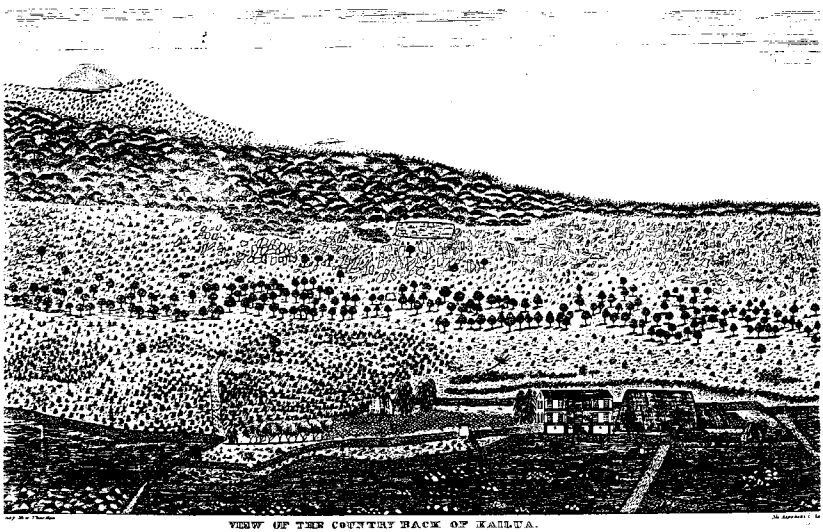
Respecting the Environment

We know that Hawaiians belong to the great family of Polynesians who occupied many islands throughout the Pacific. Their culture was molded by thousands of years of living on islands, many of which had few resources. Polynesians enhanced the meager resources of islands by introducing the economic plants and animals on which they had come to depend, and they carefully nurtured these resources in order to provide for themselves and to safeguard the productivity of the islands for the next generation. Some of these islands are scarcely more than a collection of coral rubble piled on a reef surrounding a shallow lagoon. Some even lack lagoons. Overexploitation of the precious few resources of these tiny islands would eventually mean the end of life for the inhabitants. A balance had to be maintained and respected. A balance was maintained between the needs of the inhabitants and those of a healthy, productive environment.

As a result of several millennia of experience dealing with the problems of maintaining and even enhancing the carrying capacity of their small island homes, Polynesians adapted their lives to island living and to preserving the limited island resources. In the process, Polynesians developed a set of rules – a belief system – that helped them, not only to conserve their limited resources and thus, preserve their environment, but also to enhance the environment, and thus its productivity.

Everywhere they settled they adapted their lives to fit the local environment and where they could, they adapted that environment to serve their needs. At the same time, they were careful to observe their conservation principles. The Polynesians, who came to Hawai'i, used the same general belief system and code of behavior that shaped their culture over the thousands of years of island living.

What were some of the elements of the conservation system they created? We are told that Hawaiians believed in at least four principle gods: Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū and Lono. These were Hawaiian adaptations of the Polynesian gods. They believed that these gods and their descendants were responsible for the earth, the sky, the ocean and everything on the earth, in the sky and in the ocean. The gods, they believed, were also responsible for the Hawaiian people being on earth and therefore, people were part of the total environment, not separated from it (Malo 1951: 81-85).



Engraving of the "View of the Country back of Kailua" after a drawing by Miss Thurston.

In addition, there were many demi-gods, such as Pele and her family, Kamapua'a, Māui and others that might from time to time take on human or other forms. Then, too, the power and influence of each of the main gods was extended by coupling the name of the god with myriad epithets, each becoming an "aspect" of that god (Malo 1951:81-85). Thus, the forests, valleys, plains, cultivated gardens, houses, paths, rocks, ocean and all things had their patron gods, each carefully watching over his or her domain, protecting it. As people interacted with their environment they also interacted with the god, or protective spirit of that environment – the god or gods that presided over the portions of the environment with which man interacted from time to time. This relationship worked two ways. As

long as man heeded the rules, protected the gods' domain, used it in constructive ways, the gods were moved to be peaceful and generous, bountifully providing for the needs of the people. Disasters it was believed, were the response of the gods to inappropriate behavior by people.

Kamakau provides an example of what might happen if a chief forgot his proper role in society, became greedy and failed to share with his people the fish from a pond. The *akua mo'o*, or guardian of the pond, wrote Kamakau, would

"take away all the "fish" she had given for high and low alike, for the rich and the poor. When she saw the rights of the many abused, she took away the blessings altogether, leaving nothing but the rocks which endure and the earth which crumbles. Her chagrin (lili) could not be appeased by supplication (kalokalo), but by penitence and restitution; that was the only way to bring prosperity back to the land" (Kamakau 1964:84-85).

In Hōnaunau, the place of refuge, *pu'uhonua*, in South Kona, we have the result of the tradition that speaks of a good chief being the protector of his people. A good chief, during his lifetime had the obligation to "protect" his people. He planned for enough gardens to be planted so everyone had enough food; he made certain that there were enough gardens so that some of them could lie fallow for the proper length of time in order to renourish the land; and he made laws that protected the fish when they were breeding, to assure that the children, the next generation, would have fish for themselves and their children. Not only did a big chief have these obligations in his lifetime, but traditions tell us, and Hōnaunau is the embodiment of this tradition, that protection of his people can continue even after death.

Thus, we have the concept of the spirit of protection being embodied in the bones of a great chief. Following this tradition, a mausoleum was built to house the bones of Keawe, and eventually of others whose bones were also found in Hale-o-Keawe, and the walled structure built to set the area off and preserve it for future generations. Kamakau explains that farmers who cultivated on lands that were usually dry had to appealed to the proper gods, who were usually

"Kānepua'a (Pig-Kane), Kūkeaolewa (Kū-of-the-floating-cloud), and the ancestral guardians, 'aumakua, of planters when they made their 'ō'ō [digging stick] in order to obtain their help in cultivating" (Kamakau 1976:26).

When selecting a tree from which the digging stick was to be cut, the ancestral gods, *akua 'aumakua*, of the mountains to whom it was believed the trees belonged were invoked thus:

O Kū-who-spreads-greenery,
O Kū-of-the-thickets,
O Kū-in-the-mountain-regions,
O [Kū] Kūpā-who-eats-defects,
O Kū-who-makes-slippery-the-pali
I am hewing the trunk of the tree,
And cropping off the top with [an adz of] 'alā;
Look toward me as I carve an 'ō'ō,
An 'ō'ō of kauila to be used on kula lands,
To plant sweet potatoes for food,
Dry land taro for food,
Yams for food,
Bananas for food,
Wauke for "food,"
Sugar cane for food.
Look toward me, the mighty planter,
Turn to your offspring of this world,
'Amama, the kapu of the prayer is freed
(Kamakau 1976:26).

Great respect was paid to the environment, as each element of the environment was protected by a spirit. Human beings could work with these protectors as long as they did not upset them by behaving in a way that would be detrimental to the environment, a way that would upset the god or spirit protector.

A good example is the "goddess" or spirit of the fishpond. We have information from a person whose family once ran the fishpond at Kaloko, near Kailua, North Kona. Emily Kamaka and others told me about the *mo'o* of the pond at Kaloko, which they defined as the "spirit" of the pond. The *mo'o*, if "treated badly, would retaliate, bringing bad luck to those reponsible, but if this spirit were properly cared for (*mālama*) she would be cooperative" (Kelly 1971:27). Unfortunately, we do not have a name for this particular *mo'o*, but she was called Mo'o Wahine by most who knew of her. There was a rock in the pond where the pond caretaker would leave offerings to placate the Mo'o Wahine, so she would be cooperative. He would, when the fish in the pond were netted, travel inland up *'āina*

Kaloko and leave one or two fish at the doorstep of each family living on that land. He knew this was the way to properly carry out the wishes of the Mo'o Wahine.

In this way the custodian of the resources of a large fishpond would continue traditions of respect for the environment, respect for the resources of the land and the sea, and respect for family and friends, the descendants of the people whose labor built the pond and who, in the event a great storm were to destroy the wall of the pond, would be called on to rebuild the wall of the pond.

The Breadfruit Forest Back of Kailua

The drawing, "View of the Country Back of Kailua" (see fig. p. 142), from the late 1830s lends evidence to the Hawaiian enhancement of the environment. It has been attributed to a young "Miss Thurston" or "Persis Thurston", one of two daughters of the early missionary, Rev. Asa Thurston and his wife, Lucy Goodall Thurston.[1]

The Thurston home, the schoolhouse and other structures in the yard are clearly defined within the walls of the compound, and various other stone walls provide a sharp barrier between occupied land, cultivated land and open, *kula* country. The land around the Thurston compound appears to be covered with clumps of *pili*, a cultivated grass used as thatch for houses and as the basic floor cover for the interior of houses. Over this grass flooring the Hawaiians spread several layers of *lauhala* mats, making a very comfortable sitting or sleeping space. Several *hala* trees appear to be growing within or close to the compound.

In the land claims registered in and around Kailua, in 1845 and 1846, 22 claimants registered over thirty gardens that they identified as being in the kula cultivation zone. The dictionary defines *kula* as a "plain, field, open country, pasture" (Pukui and Elbert 1971). In 1884, the legislature of the Hawaiian government passed an act that "distinguished dry or *kula* land from wet or taro land" (ibid.). In Kona, the *kula* zone includes the coastal plain and the dry area inland of the coastal plain.

The interesting representations of trees in the drawing indicate the cultivation zone above the *kula* zone. In the land claims registered by the inhabitants of Kona in 1846, were 25 gardens located in what they termed the "*kalu*" or "*kalu'ulu*" cultivation zone. As these terms are not listed in the Hawaiian dictionary, nor were they found in any of the other of the usual references, our curiosity is peeked as to exactly what they meant or from what they were derived. The term "*ulu*" is translated "to grow,

increase, spread; grove, growth" (Pukui and Elbert 1971). When the term is spelled with an initial glottal stop, *'ulu*, it becomes the word for "breadfruit tree." Although this is slim evidence, it can be assumed for the moment that the trees in the drawing represent breadfruit trees.

To gather additional evidence for determining whether or not our assumption has any validity, we turn to descriptions of the Kona coast written by visiting observers, among whom were several botanists, or naturalists. Some of the people on Cook's ships early in 1779, made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the summit of Mauna Loa from Kealakekua Bay, Kona. They walked inland from the bay in a northeasterly direction, so that at the farthest point of their journey they were nearly inland of Kailua and at the edge of the rainforest. One of the party described the countryside as he and several of his shipmates walked through it, noting the various types of cultivations and a breadfruit plantation located where "the land began to rise with a gentle ascent that continued about one mile when it became abruptly steep. These were the plantations that contain the bread-fruit-trees" (Ledyard 1963:120).

This description is most interesting because it mentions the contour of the land. There is a small fault, or cliff (*pali*) that occurs from North Kona to South Kona. Back of Kailua it can be seen at about the 800 to 900 ft. elevation; farther south it occurs between the 200 and 400 ft. elevation. Although the cliff back of Kailua is not very high, perhaps only 25 or 30 feet high, one observes water dripping from between the layers of basal and trickling down the face of the cliff onto the land at its base. In this regard it is interesting to note that testimonies in 1850 sometimes use the term "*kalu*" to describe this cultivation zone. One of the meanings of the term "*lū*" is "to drip, as water" (Pukui & Elbert 1971). Thus, the word "*kalu*," is made up of "*ka*" which is the adjective "the" and "*lū*", meaning "dripping water." When the longer term was used, *kalū* was followed by the term *'ulu* which describes the type of growth that is being nurtured by dripping water, that is, breadfruit.

There were other visitors who walked into the uplands of Kona. Just as Ledyard and his friends in 1779, had walked back of Kealakekua Bay, Archibald Menzies, botanist with Capt. George Vancouver, made the trip in 1793, sixteen years later.

"On leaving this station [Kealakekua Bay], we soon lost sight of the vessels, and entered their breadfruit plantations, the trees of which were a good distance apart, so as to give room to their boughs to spread out vigorously on all sides, which was not the case in the crowded groves of

Tahiti, where we found them always planted on the low plains along the sea side. But here the size of the trees, the luxurancy of their crop and foliage, sufficiently show that they grow equally well on an elevated situation. The space between these trees did not lay idle. It was carefully planted with sweet potatoes and rows of cloth plant [wauke, Broussonetia papyriferal]" (Menzies 1920:75).

What Menzies described here is the efficiency of double cropping in the *kalu'ulu* zone. By planting the breadfruit trees far apart, the moisture that drips from the face of the cliff can be used for more than just breadfruit trees. Of course, breadfruit trees provided Hawaiians with two food crops each year. These supplemented the dryland taro crop. Even today, Kona is the place to go if you want to taste breadfruit *poi.*

In 1794, Menzies walked into the country side behind Kailua and wrote the following:

"We commenced our march with a slow pace, exposed to the scorching heat of the meridian sun, over a dreary barren track of a gradual ascent, consisting of little else than rugged porous lava and volcanic dregs, for about three miles, when we entered the bread fruit plantations whose spreading trees with beautiful foliage were scattered about that distance from the shore along the side of the mountain as far as we could see on both sides" (Menzies 1920:154).

Menzies then takes us beyond the breadfruit forest, beyond the *kalu'ulu* cultivation zone and into the *'āpa'a* zone that is so clearly illustrated in the Thurston drawing. When the term *'āpa'a* refers to land, it means "land one has lived on for a long time (a term of affection related to *pa'a*, firmly bound)" (Pukui & Elbert 1971).

Menzies continues his journal:

"Here the country began to assume a pleasant and fertile appearance through which we continued our ascent for about two miles further, surrounded by plantations of the esculent roots [taro] and vegetables of the country, industriously cultivated, till we came to the upper most village consisting of a few scattered huts" (Menzies 1920:154).

Menzies' description takes us into the zone above the breadfruit forest where the artist of the "View of the Country Back of Kailua" has so carefully and clearly recorded the borders of the taro gardens. Not only

were these taro gardens found above the breadfruit forest back of Kailua Town, but also in the same cultivation zone back of Kealakekua Bay, as Menzies reported on a journey he made above the bay.

"As we advanced beyond the bread-fruit plantations, the country became more and more fertile, being in a high state of cultivation. For several miles round us there was not a spot that would admit of it but what was with great labor and industry cleared of the loose stones and planted with esculent roots or some useful vegetables or other. In clearing the ground, the stones are heaped up in ridges between the little fields and planted on each side, either with a row of sugar cane or the sweet root of these islands [he refers to the ti plant] (Dracena ferrea, Linn.) *where they afterwards continue to grow in a wild state, so that even these stony, uncultivated banks are by this means made useful to the proprietors, as well as ornamental to the fields they intersect"* (Menzies 1920:75).

Then, finally, above the *'āpa'a* zone was the *'ama'u* zone, or the fern zone. Menzies, with the goal of reaching the top of the mountain, went beyond the taro plantations back of Kailua. He wrote the following:

"Next morning [. . .] after going on about two miles by a narrow path through an uncultivated track, overgrown with ferns and small bushes, we entered the forest, the verge of which was adorned with rich and fruitful plantations of bananas and plantains, from which we supplied ourselves with a good stock for our journey" (Menzies 1920:155).

In 1819, M. Gaimard, a naturalist and a member of the French expedition led by de Freycinet, walked back of Kailua town, desirous of reaching the top of the mountain. He recorded his endeavor:

"In order to reach the mountain that lies to the southeast of the village [...] we first went across dry fields, where hardly any young growth was visible; but, after reaching a certain elevation, we found much richer terrain where the paper mulberry, breadfruit tree, the mountain apple, tobacco, cabbage, sweet potatoes and yams were cultivated. We were given water of a delicious coolness" (de Freycinet 1978:8).

In 1823, Rev. William Ellis of the London Missionary Society reported on a trip made by members of the American mission who walked through the countryside back of Kailua. Theirs was much the same experience.

"After travelling over the lava for about a mile, the hollows in the rocks began to be filled with a light brown soil; and about half a mile further, the surface was entirely covered with a rich mould, formed by decayed vegetable matter and decomposed lava.

Here they enjoyed the agreeable shade of bread-fruit and 'ōhi'a trees; the latter is a deciduous plant, a variety of eugenia, resembling Eugenia malaccensis, *bearing a beautifully red pulpy fruit"* (Ellis 1963:31-32).

Ellis also takes us to the cultivation zone above the breadfruit forest:

"The path now lay through a beautiful part of the country, quite a garden compared with that through which they had passed on first leaving the town. It was generally divided into small fields, about fifteen rods square, fenced with low stone walls, built with fragments of lava gathered from the surface of the enclosures. These fields were planted with bananas, sweet potatoes, mountain taro, paper mulberry plants, mellons, and sugar-cane, which flourished luxuriantly in every direction.

Having travelled about three or four miles through this delightful region, and passed several valuable pools of water, they arrived at the thick woods, which extended several miles up the sides of the lofty mountain that rises immediately behind Kairua" (Ellis 1963:31-32).

Capt. Charles Wilkes of the American Exploring Expedition likewise reported a zone of breadfruit trees back of Kailua town. He estimated the trees were in a mile-wide belt and located two miles back of Kailua. He also described taro being cultivated above the breadfruit zone.

"Here, in a belt a mile wide, the bread-fruit is met with in abundance, and above this the taro is cultivated with success" (Wilkes 1845 IV:95).

The drawing by "Miss Thurston" that became the engraving "View of the Country Back of Kailua" clearly recorded a forest growing where, in all probability, no forest would have grown had it not been planted and cultivated. Using little squares and rectangles, the engraving outlined dryland taro gardens above the forest.

The engraving challenges the historian and the cultural anthropologist. It raises questions, and engenders thoughts about the conditions that may have motivated Hawaiians to plant the breadfruit trees, which eventually grew into a forest.

To Provide for the People

Breadfruit trees are not just "trees." Breadfruit trees produce two substantial food crops annually. A full grown tree can supply a large amount of food starch, giving variety to the usual taro, yam and sweet potato sources of carbohydrates. Breadfruit can be eaten while it is still green and firm, or it can be allowed to ripen and provide a sweet starch. It also can be pounded into a *poi*, and eaten fresh or fermented, just as *poi* made from taro is eaten. It can also be stored in pits for food in times of famine, if necessary, as was done in other islands in the Pacific.

In addition to providing a food crop, breadfruit trees grow to be 70, or 80 feet high and sometimes higher. Concentrating the planting of breadfruit trees in a space 1/2 to 1 mile wide, just below the *'āpa'a* zone where Hawaiians grew their dryland taro, suggests an attempt to influence the climate of the area by drawing additional moisture from the atmosphere and increasing the dew level.

Because there are no documents that provide the details of any such plan, we must guess at the intent back of the planting of the breadfruit forest. The soil of Kona District on the Island of Hawai'i is extremely porous. There are no running streams or rivers, only flash floods when storm runoff occurs. Therefore, growing wetland taro in terraced pondfields (*lo'i*) was not possible in Kona. Dryland taro was the only alternative.

Probably sometime in the late Hawaiian occupation of the Hawai'i Island, perhaps around the middle or late part of the 16th century, someone made a decision to provide more moisture for growing dryland taro, and to do it by cultivating a forest with a food-crop tree.

I would like to think this was Umi-a-Liloa, who had been living in Waipi'o Valley, a beautiful, but wet place in North Hawai'i, and who came to Kailua to enjoy the dry climate and sunshine. His arthritis was much less painful in Kona. But it was a long way for runners to bring *pa'i 'ai* from Waipi'o. If growing conditions for dryland taro could be improved, perhaps taro in Kona would taste more like the taro from Waipi'o Valley. Anyhow, there was a growing population that needed to have food, and it was the role of the chief to provide for his people. So, the great project was undertaken.

Shoots off of already-growing breadfruit trees were collected; word went out to the people and they brought in their donations. The area was selected as the best site for the propagation of the breadfruit forest. The ground was cleared and cultivated in preparation for the shoots to be planted. The cultivating and planting of breadfruit shoots probably went

on for a number of years, until they had achieved the right numbers of trees that would provide a sufficient amount of moisture so the taro that had been planted *mauka* of the breadfruit forest would grow very well.

As everyone knows today, when there is a forest, the air is cooler, the ground is cooler and these cooler temperatures invite the night dew and even an increase in rainfall. The increased moisture in the air and on the ground helps to make the taro – and any other crop they wished to cultivate at that elevation – grow much better than without it.

I believe that it is very much within the Hawaiian experience to have come up with the planting of the breadfruit forest in order to provide more moisture for their dryland taro to prevent suffering under the frequent droughts. We know that from time to time in historic times, Kona and other parts of the Island experienced droughts so severe that the people had to move away, at least for a time, until the drought was gone and food again could grow in the district.

Note

1. Thanks to the research done by Peter Morse and others on the Lahainaluna engravings; the assistance of Lela Goodell, librarian at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; and an evaluation by now deceased artist, Joseph Feher, who was Senior Curator at the Honolulu Academy of Arts at the time of the interview, some questions may have been answered regarding the artist(s) who made the original drawings that became Lahainaluna prints: View of Kailua Hawai'i, View of the Country Back of Kailua. Other questions may have been raised, for which there may be no satisfactory answers. The drawings for the Lahainaluna engravings were produced between the years 1833 and 1843 (Damon 1931:153), the "View of the Country back of Kailua" probably between the years 1837 and 1840.

The Land Rights of Maka'āinana

By Maivân Clech Lâm

From 1778, when Captain James Cook arrived in Hawai'i, until 1850, when the monarchical government of Hawai'i enacted the Kuleana Act, foreigners increasingly pressured the Hawaiian government to divide up the land of the Hawaiian archipelago – which until then had been held in common by the king, the *ali'i* (chiefs), and the *maka'āinana* (commoners) – so as to make it alienable, and available for purchase in fee simple by foreigners.[1] In Anglo-American property law, the *"fee simple" estate* is the fullest ownership of land that a party may enjoy. Beyond the required submission to state regulation, a fee simple owner has well-nigh absolute control over his/her land.

Sensing that it could not long withstand this pressure, the Hawaiian government in 1848 undertook the "Great Māhele" (division), which separated the landed interests of the king from those of the *ali'i*.

Two years later, the government then passed the Kuleana (responsibility, entitlement) Act, which permitted *maka'āinana* to secure the lands they occupied or cultivated by requesting a fee simple title to them from a Land Commission.

Contrary to common belief, however, the Kuleana Act did *not* simultaneously terminate the existing traditional rights of those *maka'āinana* who, for one reason or another, refrained from recording their old tenurial rights in this new foreign medium. Consequently, traditional *maka'āinana* land rights have never been extinguished, but continue to exist to this day, whether recognized or not.

"Subject to the Rights of Native Tenants"

The first Constitution of Hawai'i, urged upon King Kamehameha III by his foreign advisers in 1840, depicted the traditional Hawaiian land tenure system as follows:

"Kamehameha I was the founder of the kingdom, and to him belonged all the land from one end of the Islands to the other, though it was not his own private property. It belonged to the chiefs and people in common, of whom Kamehameha I was the head, and had the management of the landed property."

This traditional system was severely disturbed when, in 1848 and 1850 respectively, Kamehameha III's government enacted the Māhele and the Kuleana Act. The Māhele was a quitclaim action between the king and the chiefs whereby they jointly divided the entire kingdom into sections which they then assigned to one another, agreeing in the process to accept what each received and not to contest what the other obtained.

After the Māhele, the king (voluntarily) and the chiefs (obligatorily) turned over a part of the lands they thus received to the government, which thereby became the third landholding party in Hawai'i. However, while the king, the chiefs, and the government now held land separately from one another, their holdings all remained "subject to the rights of native tenants," or *maka'āinana*, living thereon. This commingling of tenant and landholder interests continued until the passage of the Kuleana Act, which provided that:

"fee simple titles, free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants, who occupy and improve any portion of any [...] land, for the lands they so occupy and improve, and whose claims to said lands shall be recognised as genuine by the land commission."

Kamehameha III's government apparently expected that all *maka'āinana* would come forward under this Act to obtain fee simple title. As it turned out, only about 8,200 *maka'āinana*, from a total population of some 80,500, received awards under this Act, which awards together added up to less than 1% of the total surface of the kingdom! Under the circumstances, it becomes imperative to ask if the Hawaiian government, in enacting the Kuleana Act, intended to terminate the rights of the *maka'āinana* to the remaining 99%. Background information is needed to answer this question.

Traditional Hawaiian Society

Prior to Kamehameha I's submission, with foreign assistance, of the various islands to his single rule, Hawaiians had been governed by a number of independent *ali'i nui* (high chiefs) who each possessed supreme authority in their separate territories. An *ali'i nui* typically carved up his domain into districts over which he placed trusted chiefs. These *ali'i*, in turn, placed still lower and lower chiefs or landmanagers (*konohiki*) over smaller and smaller subdivisions of land. At the bottom were the *maka'āinana*, who worked on the land of the *ahupua'a* (land division) in

which they resided, to support their families, as well as the several layers of higher placed chiefs.

Unlike Western feudal serfs, however, *maka'ainana* owed no military service to the *ali'i* of their *ahupua'a*, and could move relatively freely from one *ahupua'a* to another. The *ali'i*, for their part, enjoyed no hereditary rights to the land, which reverted to the *ali'i nui* upon a subordinate chief's death. Furthermore, as the early Hawaiian scholar David Malo noted, since the *ali'i* depended for their wealth on the labor of the *maka'āinana*, they could not afford systematically to abuse the latter.

Early foreign visitors to Hawai'i found a dense and healthy-looking native population which supported itself by the careful cultivation of wet and dry taro, yam, and sweet potato gardens, and by extensively hunting and gathering a variety of resources stretching from the mountain to the ocean. The organization of these economic activities, the visitors reported, centered on the *ahupua'a* which, being a pie-like division of land running from the mountain to a broad coastal base, was generally resource-diverse and therefore largely self-sufficient.

The Impact of the West

Westerners who congregated to Hawai'i in the early part of the 19th century neither understood, nor approved of, the liberal use rights that *maka'āinana* enjoyed in the resources of their *ahupua'a*. Having already traumatized the islands by the diseases that they introduced, by the plants and animals that they let loose on native species, by requisitioning food, water, and sandalwood for their whaling and trading ships, and by enticing the *ali'i* into a dependency on their goods and services, the foreigners of the mid-nineteenth century next sought to restructure Hawaiian land tenure.

A fundamental conflict of values exists between the Hawaiian and Western conceptions of land and of economic activity. 19th century Western capitalism extolled individual enterprise. It also assigned a definite monetary value to goods and services, which were to be manipulated so as to render a quick and maximal profit to the entrepreneur. By contrast, Hawaiian economic practice was group-based, and oriented towards long-term mutual security. A balanced exchange of goods and services between the *ali'i* and the *maka'āinana*, between communities, and between kin members, was understood to be the proper means by which individuals and society would survive and propagate themselves through endless generations.

Land, which Western capitalists treat like any other commodity that is

bought and sold on the marketplace, was for Hawaiians an economic resource also, but one enmeshed in social relationships and pregnant with spiritual meaning. A family or *'ohana* was likened to a *kalo* plant: rooted in the soil, both send out and sustain younger offshoots. Residence and labor in an *ahupua'a* further conferred rights to water and other resources that a single *'ohana* acting alone could not command. Finally, submission to the *ali'i nui*, it was believed, connected the *maka'āinana* to the former's great spiritual power, or *mana*. Land, then, linked together different classes and individuals in a reciprocally organized system for the production and consumption of wealth.

When the foreigners came, however, bearing new goods and services, they were seen by the *ali'i* as an alternate source of wealth. Responding to foreign requests, the *ali'i* began to trade away first food, water, and then sandalwood to obtain the clocks, silks, guns, ships, and knowledge of the world that Westerners offered. Then, as the sandalwood gave out, the *ali'i* resorted to signing IOUs that permitted them to prolong their consumption of Western extravaganza. In time, of course, the foreigners demanded land in payment for these IOUs. Trapped by their own dependence, and also intimidated by the military might of the foreigners' home governments, the *ali'i* caved in, and joined their debtors in agitating for Western laws that would permit the division and sale of land.

The government of Kamehameha III did not, however, enact laws for the sole purpose of gratifying foreign whim. On the contrary, even as it passed measures to satisfy some foreign demands, it advanced others to protect the Hawaiian people from the very harm that the first set of laws engendered. The schizophrenic nature of the laws produced in this period thus reflected the government's attempt to accommodate the now contradictory social pressures at work in Hawai'i: from foreign investors out for a handsome profit, missionaries keen to transform *maka'āinana* into New England-like farmers, indebted and addicted *ali'i*, and *maka'āinana* desperate to preserve their livelihood in the face of dizzying change. Where the Kuleana Act fits in in all of this will now be looked at.

The Early Land Laws

A number of pre-1850 laws either control or explicate the intended purpose of the Kuleana Act. Kamehameha III's Declaration of Rights (1839) and Constitution (1840) – produced under American legal tutelage – constitute controlling documents for they were invested with the same force vis-a-vis statutory law that the U. S . Constitution enjoys. Between 1840 and

1846, the Hawaiian government also enacted a number of land statutes, the principal provisions of which were restated in a document commonly known as the *Principles* of the Land Commission, which the Commission relied upon in adjudicating *kuleana* claims advanced after the passage of the Kuleana Act.

The 1839 Declaration of Rights clearly stated that the government would guarantee the rights of the people to their lands:

"*Protection is hereby secured to the persons of all the people,* together with their lands, *their building lots, and all their property [...] and nothing whatever shall be taken from any individual except by* express provision of the laws" (emphasis added).

The Declaration further imposed on the government a special duty to protect the interests of the *maka'āinana:*

"*it is by no means proper to enact laws for the protection of the rulers only, without also providing protection for their subjects; neither is it proper to enact laws to enrich the chiefs only, without regard to enriching their subjects also, and hereafter* there shall by no means be any laws enacted which are at variance *with what is above expressed*" (emphasis added).

The 1840 Constitution, for its part, as indicated earlier, had declared that the lands of the kingdom belonged to the king, the *ali'i*, and the *maka'āinana* in common.

The *Principles* confirmed this, as well as the Declaration's guarantee that the people shall not be dispossessed of their lands without express provision of law. They further stated that, in any future division of the lands of the kingdom, the king, the *ali'i*, and the *maka'āinana* should each receive an equal 1/3 portion. The *Principles* advocated such a division, saying that it would permit fee simple ownership which, in turn, would create personal stakes in the land that would stimulate "industry."

On the eve of the passage of the Māhele and the Kuleana Act, then, the laws relevant to their interpretation specified: that three classes possessed land – king, *ali'i* and *maka'āinana*; that neither *ali'i* nor king could dispossess tenants on their lands at will, or without express provision of law; that the monarchy will advance the concept of fee simple ownership; that any division of the lands shall assign 1/3 of the total to each of the three classes.

The Māhele

The Māhele involved an agreement between the king and some 250 *ali'i*. In this agreement, the king took as his lands some 2.5 million acres of the kingdom and quit claimed to the *ali'i* the remaining 1.5 million. The king then gave to the government 1.5 million acres of his own 2.5 million, and retained as his own personal estate the remaining 1 million, which became known as Crown Lands. The Māhele process also provided that the *ali'i* would in turn assign 1/3 of their 1.5 million in commutation (payment for title) to the government. Finally, the process confirmed that all lands (governmental, kingly, or chiefly) would remain subject to the rights of the tenants living thereon.

The Kuleana Act

The Kuleana Act was passed, according to then Chief Justice William L. Lee, to clarify and protect these "rights of native tenants." The Act, which runs to less than two pages, essentially states: 1) that fee simple titles, free of commutation, are granted to all native tenants who occupy and improve any government, *konohiki* or Crown Lands, provided the Land Commission recognizes their claims; 2) that in awarding claims, the Commission will separate and consolidate lands "so that each man's land may be by itself"; 3) that after landholders (government, king, and *konohiki*) have taken fee simple title to their lands, the people on them may not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house timber, *aho* cord, thatch, and *ti* leaf therefrom so long as these are not sold for profit. Springs, running water, and roads remain free to all on these lands.

Only about 8,200 m*aka'āinana*, from an estimated eligible male claimant population of 29,000, received awards under the Act. Various explanations have been offered for this low figure: the two-year limit for registering *maka'āinana* claims was too short (under the Māhele, 250 *konohiki* were given 44 years in which to register their claims); *maka'āinana* were suspicious of the new Western contrivances of writing and law; they could not afford the survey fees; whereas *maka'āinana* needed the continued use of a full range of resources, the awards handed out covered only cultivated plots and houselots; *maka'āinana* feared that the *konohiki* would retaliate against them if they filed claims; many, assuming that the old tenurial rights remained available to them, chose to stay with the status quo.

The Contemplated Distribution of Land

The sum total of *maka'āinana* awards secured under the Kuleana Act amounted to just about .9% of the surface of the kingdom. It has been pointed out that the .9% included the most valuable lands (i.e. *kalo* lands) of the time, and that traditional cultivation in any event may not have amounted to more than 1% of the islands' surface. However, traditional *livelihood* required the access to, and use of, resources that were spread over much more than .9% of the kingdom, as Kamehameha III himself recognized: "a little bit of land even with allodial (fee simple) title, if they (the people) be cut off from all other privileges would be of very little value." Besides, the .9% figure did not even take in all of the cultivated lands for the figure included houselots in addition to garden plots.

Notwithstanding William L. Lee's intent, then, the Kuleana Act neither clarified nor protected tenants' rights, no doubt because not all *maka'āinana* invoked its terms, and also because not all *ali'i* respected the terms even when *maka'āinana* invoked them. *Konohiki*, for example, early sold off large tracts of land to foreigners who then used the Anglo-American device of adverse possession to appropriate what scattered *maka'āinana kuleana* holdings existed within those tracts.[2] Because the Act failed in practice to pass out fee simple awards to most of the eligible *maka'āinana*, and because it is silent as to the proper "fall-back" position in the event of this failure, what was intended to happen to *maka'āinana* rights under the circumstances will have to be constructed from the broader context surrounding the Act.

It is my contention that Kamehameha III's government intended that the livelihood of the maka'āinana *shall be secured, and that the way to secure it was to assign 1/3 of the kingdom to them, and that the Kuleana Act – which secured kalo lands and houselots, and also extended subsistence rights in the rest of the* ahupua'a *– was constructed so as to confer the equivalence of this 1/3 right in the land to* maka'āinana. *Given that the Kuleana Act eventually failed in its purpose, the only justifiable fall-back position remaining is to assign 1/3 of the land to the* maka'āinana.

A careful analysis of the carving up of lands during the Māhele shows that the end result of the process would have been a division of the kingdom into three roughly equal parts to be enjoyed by three separate parties: king, *ali'i*, and *maka'āinana*. Conform to the Hawai'i Supreme Court's view, as stated in *In re Estate of His Majesty Kamehameha IV, 2 Haw. 715, 719 (1864)*, "king" in this context means king as "government," while "*ali'i*" means chiefs as well as the king in his capacity as one of the *ali'i*. This 3-part formulation becomes evident when the Māhele process is segmented

into three consecutive steps, two of which were executed, and the last of which was contemplated but not executed:

A. The Quitclaim Step

1. The king takes	2.5 million acres
2. The other *ali'i* take	1.5 million acres
Total	4.0 million acres

B. The Conveyance/Commutation to the Government Step

1. The government receives:	
a) from the king, subject to tenants' 1/3 rights	1.5 million acres
b) from the other *ali'i*	0.5 million acres
2. The *ali'i* and king retain, subject to tenants' 1/3 share	
a) Crown Lands	1.0 million acres
b) *konohiki* lands	1.0 million acres
Total	4.0 million acres

C. The Conveyance to the Tenants' Step

1. The government holds 1.5 million acres	
a) from the king	1.0 million acres
b) from the other *ali'i*	0.5 million acres
2. The *ali'i* keep 1.2 million acres	
a) Crown Lands	0.7 million acres
b) *konohiki* lands	0.5 million acres
3. The *maka'āinana* receive 1.3 million acres	
a) from government lands	0.5 million acres
b) from Crown Lands	0.3 million acres
c) from *konohiki* lands	0.5 million acres
Total	4.0 million acres

The above table thus shows that, had the last step been in due course executed along with the first two, as anticipated in various official documents preceding the Māhele, the government would have received 1.5 million acres, the *ali'i* class 1.2 million, and the *maka'āinana* 1.3 million, a result very close to the 1/3 formulation first announced in the *Principles.*

A statute like the Kuleana Act must be interpreted in the context of the controlling 1839 Declaration of Rights and 1840 Constitution, and as illuminated by whatever existing statutes (summarized here in the *Princi-*

ples) the new Act does not explicitly displace. As shown, these controlling laws or co-existing statutes recognized and guaranteed *maka'āinana* land rights, forbade dispossession without express provision of law, and prohibited the enactment of laws that would enrich only the *ali'i.*

The Kuleana Act, which offered *maka'āinana* the option of owning "*kuleanas*" in fee simple, did not at the same time expressly terminate their traditional rights, whether as awardees or non-awardees, in the rest of the *ahupua'a*. Such a termination or dispossession, under the controlling law, may *not* be implied, particularly as it would trigger a second violation: the construction of laws to enrich the *ali'i*, but not the *maka'āinana.*

The Judicial Interpretation of the Kuleana Act

Unfortunately, the court, where *haole* (foreign) judges typically dispensed *haole* legal reasoning, has tried to effect such a dispossession in its interpretation of Kamehameha III's land laws. Fortunately, it has not entirely succeeded, and the body of constitutional, statutory, and judicial case-law still reads in such a way that traditional *maka'āinana* rights may be re-identified, consolidated, and advanced.

As early as 1858, the court decided in a case called *Oni v. Meek* that where *maka'āinana* seemingly asked their *konohiki* to let them stay on the land as of old, that request in itself transformed their traditional *right* to be on the land into a revocable *permission* to be on the land. The court also said that the act of taking out fee simple awards in and of itself terminated all awardees' previous rights unless these were specifically provided for in the Kuleana Act. Oddly enough, the same court in the same year decided, in *Haalelea v. Montgomery,* that inshore fishing rights, though not enumerated in the Kuleana Act, remained available to all *ahupua'a* residents. The contemporary foreign interest in land, and relative disinterest in fisheries, no doubt explains the discrepancy between the two cases.

In 1884, the court in *Maikai v. A. Hastings & Co.* handed down a decision that was fundamentally wrong. It held that only *kuleana* holders were entitled to use water as provided in the Kuleana Act; all other *maka'āinana* used it at the strict sufferance of the *konohiki.* Again, the influence of water-hungry foreign planters, many of whom were then succeeding to the ownership of *konohiki* and *kuleana* lands, manifests itself behind this decision to deny water to the majority of the *maka'āinana.*

The court in 1895 took the *Oni* reasoning one step further. Chief justice Judd *rightly* stated, in a case called *Dowsett v. Maukeala,* that all who had not taken out fee simple title after 1850 must be presumed to have wanted

the old order to continue and, he *wrongly* continued, that order was such that the *konohiki* (and by extension his foreign successors) could grant and revoke rights at will.

The four classic cases just described thus variously contradict the 1839 Declaration's guarantee of *maka'āinana* rights, its prohibition of dispossession without express provision of law, as well as the 1840 Constitution's explicit declaration that *maka'āinana* owned land in common with the *konohiki*, and not at their sufferance.

Judd's grossly erroneous interpretation of the traditional Hawaiian social order as one in which the *ali'i permitted,* or *contracted* with, the *maka'āinana* to be on the land was rejected in this century in the 1982 *Kalipi v. Hawaiian Trust Co.* case:

"*[Oni] implies that all traditional rights may have been, in essence, contractual rather than customary insofar as commoners cultivated their lands and enjoyed privileges in exchange for services to the lord of that ahupuaa. We do not, however, adopt this conclusion [. . .]. The relevant inquiry is whether [. . .] privileges [. . .] persisted to the point where it had evolved into an accepted part of the culture.*"

The *Kalipi* court then noted that where traditional Hawaiian activities involving access to land and its resources have continued, they would be protected under several authorities:

1. The current state Constitution: "*[The] State reaffirms and shall protect all rights, customarily and traditionally exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes and possessed by ahupua'a tenants who are descendants of native Hawaiians*"

2. Hawai'i Revised Statutes section 1-1: "*The common law of England, as ascertained by English and American decisions, is declared to be the common law of the State of Hawaii in all cases, except as otherwise [...] established by Hawaiian usage*"

3. Section 7 of the Kuleana Act (Hawai'i Revised Statutes section 7-1): "*the people on each of their lands, shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house timber, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf, from the land on which they live [...]. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all*"

Unfortunately, Chief Justice William S. Richardson then also wrote that the customary land rights of *maka'āinana* and their descendants will be protected by the court only if they have continued without fundamentally

violating the "new system" and, he further states, only if asserted on undeveloped *ahupua'a* lands. He then suggested that the rights did not include the right to restrict the development or diminution of the *ahupua'a* and its resources. In my judgment, there is no legal authority to support these limitations that the Chief Justice imposed upon customary Hawaiian land rights.

From the arrival of Captain Cook until the passage of the Kuleana Act, many factors acted to separate Hawaiians from their lands and resources. Nevertheless, the government of Kamehameha III remained highly conscious of its duty to protect *maka'āinana*'s traditional means of livelihood. The government tried, in the Kuleana Act, to execute this duty by granting *maka'āinana* secure cultivation rights, via the fee simple option, as well as liberal hunting and gathering rights, via the recognition of traditional *ahupua'a* occupancy entitlements.

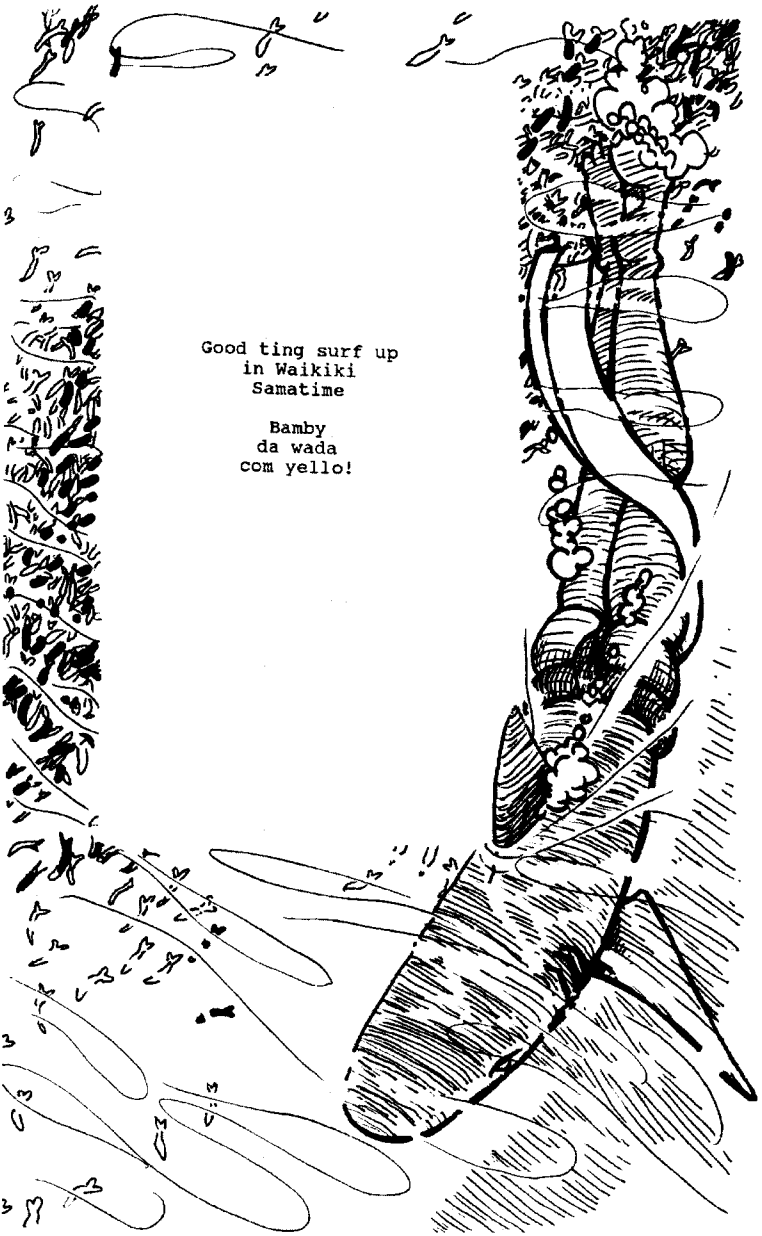
Tragically, this mixed legal system did not accomplish its end. Few *maka'āinana* obtained fee simple titles. Those who did soon lost their lands to large landowners who adversely possessed their *kuleanas*. The Supreme Court's historical tendency to side with large landowners against the *maka'āinana* effectively frustrated the goal of Kamehameha III's government: which was that commoners would not be dispossessed of their lands or alienated from their traditional means of livelihood; and that any division of the lands of the kingdom would assign 1/3 to the *maka'āinana*. Morally and politically, it is time to return to Kamehameha III's goal. Legally, authority remains to support that return.

Notes

1. This article is condensed from the author's: The Kuleana Act Revisited: the Survival of Traditional Hawaiian Commoner Rights in Land (1989).

2. This device permits a party who has occupied another's land in an open, hostile, continuous, and exclusive manner for a statutorily specified number of years to then claim legal ownership.

DEPENDENT HAWAI'I: TOURISM AND THE MILITARY



Good ting surf up
in Waikiki
Samatime

Bamby
da wada
com yello!

Preserving Hawai'i as a Hawaiian Place

Tourism, Development and Destruction of the Environment

By Dana Naone Hall

Hawai'i is a remarkable paradise. Separated by more than 2,000 miles from the nearest land mass of substantial size, the native landscapes of these high volcanic islands evolved in magnificent isolation over millions of years.

In a benign environment free of venomous snakes and supporting unique populations of birds, insects and other animals – like the richly varied land snails – hundreds of new species of plants evolved along the coastal areas of all the islands, formed the canopies and understoreys of wet and dry forests, inhabited bogs and took hold in alpine zones on the highest mountains. Approximately 95 percent of Hawai'i's native plants and animals are found nowhere else in the world.

This astonishing diversity is contained on less than one half of one percent of the entire land in the United States. A sobering note to these natural wonders is that Hawai'i also has the highest extinction rate for plants and animals in the whole of North America and one of the highest rates for any comparable area in the world.

Hawai'i is home as well to an indigenous people. More than a thousand years ago, the first ocean faring canoes, in one of mankind's greatest navigational feats, landed on Hawai'i's shores and thus began the history of the native Hawaiians.

There is little doubt that the past two hundred years have brought accelerated change to these islands. The native landscapes have been substantially altered in many places by introduced plants and animals – often species infinitely more aggressive than the native varieties – and the combined pressures of agriculture (including ranching), forestry, housing and the demands of an expanding tourism industry.

The State Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism pegs tourism as accounting for as much as 80 percent of the income from major industries. According to the 19th annual edition of *All About Business in Hawai'i,* expenditures by visitors comprised nearly half of Hawai'i's gross state product in 1990. Whereas Hawai'i's former isolation, in combination with its geology and climate, produced a fascinating

array of plant and animal species and fostered a unique Hawaiian culture, Hawai'i's economic livelihood now depends on an industry that relies upon increasingly frequent access to the islands.

O'ahu, the most urbanized of the eight major Hawaiian islands where more than three fourths of the state's population resides, is the primary gateway for the state. In 1990, 14.4 million of the 23.3 million passengers at Honolulu International Airport were overseas visitors from the mainland United States and foreign countries. The Hawai'i State Department of Transportation forecasts substantial increases in mainland U.S. and international traffic over interisland travel in the next twenty years.

To accommodate existing as well as forecasted increases in international passengers, international arrival facilities at Honolulu International Airport will be expanded at a cost of 1.2 billion dollars. The new international terminal building is designed to alleviate the current delays in processing international travelers during peak traffic hours. In order to further facilitate international travel to Hawai'i, the Department of Transportation is considering the establishment of international airports on three of the neighbor islands: the Big Island of Hawai'i, Kaua'i and Maui. Particular attention is being focused on the island of Maui where Kahului Airport receives the state's second largest number of visitors. American and Japanese airline carriers have shown an interest in servicing a direct International route between Maui and Japan, but the lack of customs and immigration facilities and Kahului's relatively short 7,000 foot runway (wide-bodied domestic jets operate out of Kahului on a weight restricted basis and are only able to fly as far as the west coast of the United States) so far have prevented the award of such a route. The issue of whether or not Kahului Airport will be turned into an international port of entry has galvanized Maui's people and become one of the island's central environmental issues.

The visitor industry in conjunction with construction and other business groups advocate building a longer runway at Maui's Kahului Airport to allow for direct flights to and from markets beyond current west coast U.S. markets. They point to the increase in the number of hotel rooms on the island – primarily luxury units – and the necessity for filling the rooms and maintaining profitable occupancy rates throughout the industry.

Many Maui residents oppose such a move, citing recent decreases in visitor numbers and comments from both visitors and residents that Maui is being overdeveloped. Maui has indeed been experiencing its share of infrastructural problems brought on by the explosive development of the last decade. Traffic congestion on the main arterial roads has become a

feature of daily life, along with occasional sewage spills in one of the primary resort areas, unexplained algae blooms in once pristine ocean waters and near maximum capacity use of the fresh water aquifer that serves a major part of the island.

Honolulu International Airport is the 9th busiest airport in the United States in terms of passenger numbers. The concern for Maui residents is how to avoid following in the footsteps of Honolulu and how to retain, by choice, the open, rural aspect and special qualities of Maui characterized by the saying, "*Maui no ka 'oi*" (Maui is the best).

Those who oppose the lengthening of Kahului Airport's main runway and the establishment of an international airport, point out that the economics of Maui's – and the state's – primary industry are linked to protecting the environment. In the past several years, eastbound visitors to Hawai'i have increased to 32% of the overall passenger mix with Japanese visitors alone accounting for a solid 20% of the total passenger figures. Yet an article of Honolulu's major newspapers this year discussed the possibility that Hawai'i may be losing its appeal to these same visitors who are finding it cheaper to vacation elsewhere and are influenced by the growing perception, as stated by a Tokyo office worker, "that the environment there [in Hawai'i] has been destroyed. I want to see something natural."

The desire to preserve the natural beauty of Maui has been strongly voiced by Maui residents. Maui's population experienced the highest increase in the state in the past ten years, rising by 42 percent as compared to the overall state average of 17 percent. Coupled with the highest ratio of visitors to residents (out of every 10 people on a daily average, 3 to 4 are visitors – in contrast to O'ahu where one out of every 10 is a visitor), Maui can be said to have felt the direct and indirect effects of tourism more distinctly than anywhere else in the state and is a microcosm for what is happening elsewhere.

A Maui visitor industry official has claimed that the island's economy is 80% dependent on tourism. Since one of Hawai'i's primary attractions has always been its beaches, many of Maui's most accessible beaches are now lined with hotels and condominiums. Shoreline development has been a key note of the economic boom that began in the 1970s. This has resulted in what amounts to the virtual control, in certain areas of the island, of valuable coastal resources for resort development with attendant short term effects such as run-off from construction in near shore waters and longer term effects that include the deterioration of the marine environment and loss of access to fishing, camping and recreational areas used by local residents.

An attempt to build a hotel on a prime beach property encountered an unexpected setback in a recent case that involved the discovery of an extensive prehistoric native Hawaiian burial site in a Pleistocene period sand dune on the northwest end of Maui. Multiple concerns were expressed regarding the destruction of the dune as a significant natural feature as well as the dune's cultural significance as an ancient burial ground for hundreds of native ancestors. The State of Hawai'i eventually purchased the development rights to the hotel property in order to preserve the ancient site and the hotel is now under construction on an adjoining parcel some distance away from the shoreline.

The growth of the tourism industry has resulted in undeniable economic benefits for Hawai'i, but, at the same time, it has been accompanied by a host of environmental problems, including the increased introduction of alien plants, pests and diseases detrimental to the native ecosystems. These invasive agents are responsible not only for the decline and, at times, the extinction of native species but figure into the costs and complications of maintaining and further developing diversified agriculture in Hawai'i.

Tourism is also an energy intensive industry. The bulk of Hawai'i's oil imports, for example, are used for jet fuel and gasoline while only a third of the oil is used in the production of electricity. One of the most controversial environmental issues in the past few years has revolved around the development of geothermal energy on the Big Island of Hawai'i as a way, proponents argue, that the state can lessen its dependence on fossil fuel imports.

According to environmental groups, Hawai'i would do better to engage in energy conservation by enacting a comprehensive energy efficiency plan that would obviate the need for the expensive and dangerous (a recent geothermal well blow-out on the Big Island gained national attention) development of a non-renewable resource. Calling a halt to geothermal development would also stop the destruction of the last lowland tropical rainforests in Hawai'i.

There are other tie-ins to the tourism industry. For instance, government authorities have been unsuccessful, to date, in gaining adequate control over the proliferation of tour boat operators along the north shore of Kaua'i; in particular the spectacular Na Pali coast which was formerly protected by its isolation and relative inaccessibility. Another instance involves the growing state-wide concern over the increasing development of golf courses on six of the major islands (the exceptions are the island of Kaho'olawe, which is presently uninhabited, and the privately owned island of Ni'ihau to which access by non-Ni'ihau residents is severely

restricted). The effects of golf course development on the environment are gaining more serious attention; however golf courses continue to be built despite concerns about the loss of agricultural land to non-agricultural uses, the immense amounts of water required to maintain golf courses, the leeching of pesticides and herbicides into aquifers and the potential for chemical runoff into streams and other waters, including the ocean. Allowing golf courses on agricultural land has opened the door to luxury home development around these highly-priced recreational amenities. These new developments have contributed to tremendous increases in the price of agricultural lands, making the economics of small farming operations more difficult as well as adding to housing stock well beyond the reach of the average worker in Hawai'i. In fact, the general housing situation in Hawai'i has not improved much in the past 20 to 30 years. Affordable housing is one of the top priorities of the state, but the demand continues to far exceed the supply.

Hawai'i's housing situation is so tight and the market so expensive, that, in concert with Hawai'i's high cost of living, many residents can not afford to buy a house. Those unable to rent housing or double up with family and friends are being forced to live in their cars, on the beaches and in other public places. Figures for Hawai'i's homeless people, many of whom are descended from the original inhabitants of these islands, range anywhere from 8,000 to 16,000.

The prospect that greater numbers of Hawaiians will find themselves without a home in Hawai'i is increasingly likely – and ironic given the fundamental values of Hawaiian culture which emphasized hospitality as one of the prized attributes of traditional behavior. The truly mature person or *kanaka makua*, according to the late Hawaiian author and translator, Mary Kawena Pukui, is noted for a warm, generous manner and is quick to share with others whatever is needed. This culturally valued behavior is probably a source for what is now called the *aloha* spirit.

There is some dispute about whether the population of the Hawaiian islands at the time of Cook's visit in 1778 was 400,000 or as high as 800,000. Current figures put the state's population at a little over 1.1 million. Given these numbers, Hawai'i's pre-contact population could have been anywhere between a third to two thirds of the present resident count. It's clear that Hawai'i sustained a large prehistoric population that lived, for the most part, in harmony with the *'aina*, the land born of the gods. Hawaiians were deeply knowledgeable about and respectful of the forces and many facets of the natural world that they inhabited along with so much else that was and still is unique and peculiar to Hawai'i.

What is not so clear is whether or not Hawai'i will continue to be able to sustain future population growth and the kinds of economic development that have occurred in the past few decades, and still remain, in essential ways, Hawai'i. Change can no longer be measured simply in the course of what happens in one generation. The rapid rate of Hawai'i's economic "progress" seems to have compressed several lifetimes of change into the 40 year period since Hawai'i became a state in 1959.

Perhaps now more than at any other time in history we have the opportunity to protect Hawai'i's incomparable environment, home to both the celebrated silversword of Haleakalā and the lesser known *'ōpae'ula*, the brackish water dwelling red shrimp. The hope for future generations is that residents and visitors alike will decide that Hawai'i is a paradise worth preserving.

Aloha

By Pilahi Paki

Aloha is the god-like spirit endowed to all human beings from their birth.

Aloha spirit is the coordination of mind and heart – it is within the individual – it brings you down to yourself. You must think and emote good feelings to others.

A stands for Akahai, meaning kindness to be expressed with tenderness
L stands for Lokahi, meaning unity to be expressed with harmony
O stands for 'Olu'olu, meaning agreeable to be expressed with pleasantness
H stands for Ha'aha'a, meaning humility to be expressed with modesty
A stands for Ahonui, meaning patience to be expressed with perseverance

Kupuna Pilahi Paki has been the mentor for several kanaka maoli activists, among others Kawaipuna Prejean, whom this volume is dedicated. She said: The experiences I have had in associating with people of all walks of life and creeds, have in fact been my greatest education and privilege. This privilege has gained for me a very precious gift, the gift of understanding love in Aloha (Paki 1972).

Tourism in Hawai'i

By John Kelly

In 1946, about two generations ago, Hawai'i's economy was dominated by large scale agriculture controlled by a "Big Five" corporate machine, allied with the U.S. military.

We had a population of 470,000 residents and 15,000 tourists per year – then, a tolerable ratio of about 30 residents to each nearly invisible wanderer.

This was just after World War II. The Islands were aptly described as a "sugar-coated fortress."

Today, slightly over a million local residents are forced to share their downward plunging and economically ravaged communities, endangered coastlines and fleeting views with *over six million tourists* from elsewhere, per year – a staggering and costly ratio of six transient outsiders to each resident!

The military remains entrenched – a sort of large permanent caste of rotating tourists, all trained to kill.

Lastly remembered today, physically shoved aside as outcasts in their homeland and painfully exploited by an ever hungry and never satiated foreign-owned tourist industry are Hawai'i's indigenous Native Hawaiians.

Yesterday's Truth

Long, long ago – about 65 generations in time – Hawaii's very first people, with celestial vision and terrestrial skills, had explored and peacefully conquered Earth's largest ocean. They settled here in undoubtedly her most beautiful islands, tamed rivers, nutrified the lands, identified and revered their animist deities and built one of humankind's kindliest cultures of shared resources, labor and love.

All this happened at a time when our Western ancestors were afraid of sailing out of sight of land. And when finally they argumentively figured that the world may be round, not flat, they armed ships, fought their bloodied way through troubled seas, claimed, killed and conquered.

In this manner, in 1778, did Hawai'i's first tourists confront Hawai'i's first people.

School books, even scholarly works, don't often mention that these first tourists took a lot: canoes loaded with food, water, fish and fowl, plantains, potatoes, taro and more, for which these tourists – generously for them, as ye shall see – shared a few nails . . . lethal venereal diseases and beheadings.

Looking back on these first tourists' requirements for fresh foods, historian John Ledyard's *Journal* reports that the Natives "*had parted with as much as they could afford, or were willing to spare; and their dependents [...] as well as the whole mass of the people, would have to fare slenderly for no short time, to recover from so great an expense.*"

From *The Journals* of Capt. James Cook, we read the words of Cook's successor, Capt. King, on the events at Kealakekua, Hawai'i: "*In every instance it was not in the power of the Officers to restrain them [the sailors] when it was only necessary to burn down some huts [...] which afforded shelter for a few Indians that threw stones, not only these were burnt, but the whole Village.*"

Commenting on the burnings, Surgeon John Law is quoted in the *Journal*: "*During this fire, a half a dozen men were shot by our people in a Most Brutal Manner [...]. Others of the Natives who stayed in their houses were run thro' by Bayonets and some poor People Making their Escape were Shot. This is not the piece of Savageness & Brutality when Compared to what they did afterwards for when they had Murdered these Defenceless people they severed the heads and stuck them on the boats as Trophies of their Vile Victory.*"

King (who replaced Cook after the latter was killed) mentions the decapitations on which the remark of (Capt.) Bligh was, "*If this had not been done they would never had been brought to submission.*"

Today's Tragedy

Today, Native Hawaiians deserve a far better life than they now have in Tourist Hawai'i on the eve of the 21st century.

Our Native Hawaiian people in their homeland of two thousand years, have more than earned the right to love and understanding, support for unfulfilled needs, and most of all, restitution of stolen lands and abrogated rights.

Do any of this year's six million tourists know that Hawaiian airport greeters who may have presented them with fresh flower leis descend from survivors of the little known but catastrophic depopulation holocaust following Western contact?

A catastrophic drop from a now estimated 800,000 to a million Native Hawaiians in these islands upon Cook's arrival, reduced their numbers to 39,000 survivors in only three and a half generations by an 1890 census.

The causes? Some shift the blame to Native Hawaiians who they say lacked immunity to Western communicable diseases. But recent virology

studies point to causitive relations existing between the general health or absence of health in human and animal communities and the rapid physical and chemical adaptability of viral cells to immune defense systems weakened by lack of food, hygiene and rest.

Researchers point to the epidemic level of susceptibility to AIDS among massively dislocated rural African communities whose emaciated survivors are pouring by the millions into urban villages and towns totally lacking in proper food, water and living conditions.

Hawai'i's delicately balanced subsistence production of food and all other necessities was heavily preyed upon and totally disrupted by demands of self-serving and rapidly escalating shiploads of explorers, then whalers, traders, missionaries and settlers.

All of them came, made deals with the few chiefs, took foods and supplies and left just as all tourists do. They sought self-aggrandizement at the expense of Native Hawaiian *maka'āinana* – folk who fed themselves from the land and sea as farmers and fishermen.

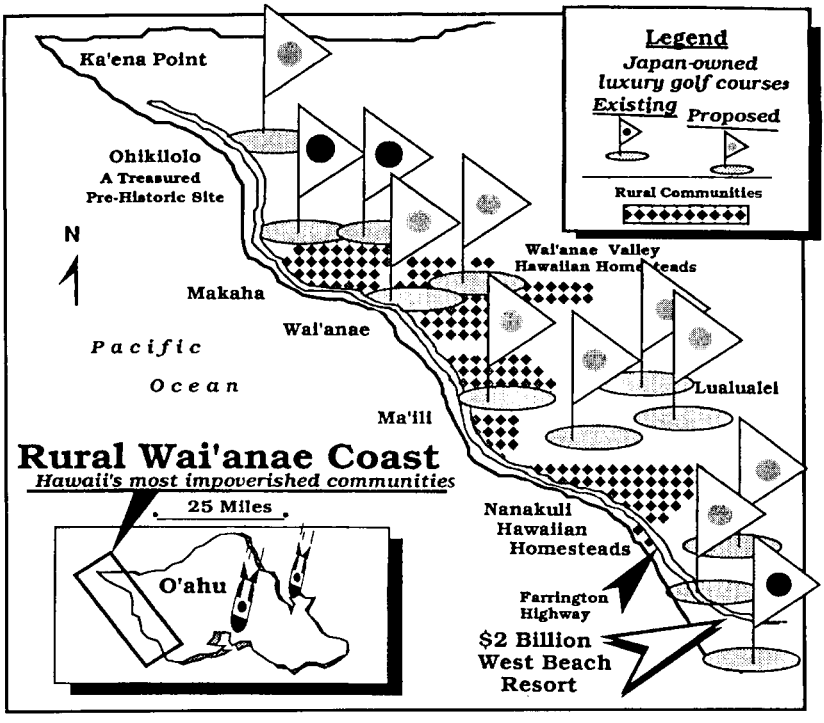
Few researchers in Hawai'i's tragic history have examined the extent and effect on the traditional subsistence production of Native Hawaiians of this flood of unprecedented demands for victuals and labor services immediately following Western contact.

Though far more complicated today than 200 years ago due to today's fluid money-commodity economy, the rapid increase in millions of new tourists to Hawai'i for the benefit of rich landowners and foreign investors in tourism is reflected in the rapidly widening gap between rich and poor, alienation between classes, deepening poverty, homelessness, drug dependency and other indices.

Although, amazingly, the state has no reporting requirements for foreign investments, the islands are seen as an unstable economic colony of Japan much of whose investments are in hotels and tourism developments.

Our million residents have little if any meaningful public sayso on fateful decisions being made by Hawai'i's paid-off politicians whose election campaigns are funded by the same few large landowners as before, but juiced up today with their new foreign co-conspiring bankers and developers.

Land speculation by Hawai'i's greedy rich has produced the highest cost of living in the nation and its worst housing crisis. Counting multiple families of two or three generations forced to live together in single family homes, plus homeless families living in cars, bushes and under park benches, we have not a few thousand as estimated by government agencies, but tens of thousands of extremely stressed homeless families!



"They're fishing for greed – we're fighting for need!" As of early 1989, Japan millionaires linked up with local money-hungry bankers, lawyers, brokers and some politicians and planned to take over the Wai'anae communities with 12 private golf courses and related tourism developments. Some have been slowed or stopped by local community opposition. Text and graphics: Maka'āinana Media.

This often means twenty or more persons using one kitchen, one closet, one toilet, in congested homes built for single-families. For thousands of other families it means no home, no toilet, no running water, no transportation, little if any medical care, nothing to read, and – in a worsening and expanding tourism-dominated economy – no future.

As we residents cope futilely with the soaring cost of living and grave housing crisis, a dangerously imbalanced economy, gridlock traffic, a grievously plundered and suffering coastal environment and more, the tourist industry's hoarse chorus screams all over the world: "*Visit Paradise Hawai'i – You'll love it!*"

Many of our native born resident families must flee elsewhere due to these incredibly inflating costs of living in the land of their birthright and

culture. Hawai'i's corporate/political power structure reps, meanwhile, project wild figures of 12 or more million tourists by the turn of the century – gyrating world economies permitting.

Bank of Hawai'i's chief economist David Ramsour recently defined bankers' hopes: *"By the year 2,000, Hawai'i will be the recreation center of the Pacific. Farms will be replaced by tennis ranches and golf courses. All our food will be imported."*

Many homeless try to make it in County parks throughout the islands today where they may find water faucets and usually vandalized public restrooms. Their numbers are growing. Most are required to vacate their tents and derelict car-homes every Wednesday and Thursday to sleep elsewhere in the bushes during park cleanup.

Last summer while leafletting Sand Island Park every weekend in an attempt to save it from the state's cruiseship tourism invasion, we got to know a lot of homeless victims of today's tourism-dominated economy. Some homeless pregnant mothers living in the locked park at night gave birth in cars or tents without medical aid.

Government polls together with last year's census do not provide reliable figures. Families on welfare cannot reveal that others share their congested rooms, food stamps and services.

Some observers tend to blame today's poor for their plight. They do not know the long lasting effects of colonial plunder. Here are a few facts...

In a monstrous land manipulation by two Christian missionaries and a young attorney back in 1845-48, all Hawai'i's lands were transformed from their traditional life-supporting *use-value* into a commodity or *exchange-value* in the Western style.

Suddenly, for the first time ever in these islands, land became something that could be bought and privately owned – by those with money from those without money.

Money, the Native Hawaiians discovered, was needed to pay new *haole*-(foreign)-imposed land and poll taxes. Money taxes drove them off their lands into the White man's labor market.

The two missionaries were William Richards and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd. The attorney was William Lee.

These three *haole* men put 95 percent of the islands' 4.1 million acres under the ownership of 251 high chiefs, the crown and government! This left only a pitiful 28,600 acres or nine tenths of one percent of the land for 8,000 *kua'āina* (Native Hawaiian farmers) who, at the time, were barely surviving one of the world's worst depopulating holocausts. Two years later, the *haole* wrote a Vagrancy Law, Chapter 38 of the 1850 Penal Code.

It provided for jailing of *"idle and disorderly persons wandering abroad [...] not able to give a good account of themselves."*

Jails were built in the expanding sugar plantation areas. Native Hawaiians, arrested as "vagrants" were used as unpaid (slave) labor building roads carrying the White man's sugar cane to the major islands' shipping harbors. Provisions of the Vagrancy Law remained on the books until the 1970's, well over a century later!

To this day, it is traditional among many Native Hawaiian families to seek employment in road work.

At Punahou and Roosevelt schools which I attended along with the University of Hawai'i, no teacher or school book ever referred to these historical facts.

Punahou started in 1841, seven years before the Māhele as a missionary school by and for Hawai'i's elite *haole* ruling families. With some exceptions, it still attracts wealthy neo-elite businessmen and landowners as trustees for their children. Its founding was during our country's 300 years of full-on buying, selling and abusing of slaves. Our nation's capitol is named after slave-owning General George Washington.

Thus Hawai'i's present crisis-ridden tourist promenade from foreign conquest to elitist wealth, prestige and profits, was plotted and implemented by missionaries and many of their descendants during the period of racist and religious sanctions of 300 years of American slavery. But the descendants aren't taught the full truth of it, even today.

As a direct result of the two inherently racist and colonial cornerstones of Hawai'i's post-contact history – the 1848 Māhele and 1893 overthrow of the Native Hawaiian government – 72 major private landowners own 47 percent of Hawai'i's prime lands today.

Land-rich but capital-poor, they marry up with capital-rich land-poor overseas investors – today, mostly from Japan – for high profits in tourism.

Tourism requires and embraces the "Seven S's": Sky, sun, sand, sea, surf, scenery and sex, not necessarily in that order. Most are found in Hawai'i's fragile coastal zone.

This brings up the other half of Hawai'i's lands. About two and a half million acres of "Crown and Government" lands were illegally seized by the upstart Dole "republic" and "ceded" (transferred) to the U.S. government.

"Republic" means "with consent of the governed." But the *haole*-instituted laws required proof of possession of money accounts and/or property ownership in order to vote. Thus, most Hawaiians were excluded from voting on the status of themselves, their nation, and their lands, or any other matters.

The stolen lands were then transferred again to the annexed Territory of Hawai'i in 1898. Sixty-one years later – with statehood – most of the ceded lands were again transferred, this time to the state of Hawai'i which, together with the U.S. military establishment, controls over half of the islands' four million acres of land, much of it coastal and submerged. Twenty-five percent of O'ahu is owned or controlled by the U.S. military.

Coastal lands are tourism's breeding ground. Hotels don't grow in mountains, no matter how fertile. So, the picture is clear. A few (42) major *private* landowners are making millions in profits from land deals, today mostly with Japan's tourism investors.

The two main so-called *public* landowners – the state and federal – control most coastal lands including harbors, airports, marinas, promenades, and more. Under the 1899 Rivers and Harbors Act, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers controls all permits for coastal interventions.

The term "public" is a misnomer. State and federal land jurisdictions are matters of *existing* law, not public decision-making – no matter how much public outcry and legislative debate. And existing laws generally descend from the Māhele and overthrow of the Hawaiian government, with a few amendments.

The public has been carefully screened out of influencing land use law as shown in a calloused supreme court decision against voter initiative on land use and a recent leasehold conversion debate.

Decision making on land use laws and court interpretations are firmly in the hands of the 74 large landowers – "public" and private – that own and control 95 percent of Hawai'i's lands, most of which are accessory to today's intensely monopolized tourist industry. A portion of their largely tourism-related profits is used to elect governors, mayors, key legislators and key councilpersons. The governors' appointed judicial selection apparatus controls appointments to the judicial system which is supposed to be – but is not– an independent branch of government under the Constitution.

This undemocratic setup is ideal for tourism developers and profiteers – local and overseas.

Consider the state's nearly billion dollar publicly funded Honolulu Waterfront Master Plan for which public hearings have never been held. The Plan is keyed to linking Waikīkī with the airport via massive tourism-related developments in downtown Honolulu. This includes an elevated Parkway from the airport across Sand Island into the Sand Island Park and thence via two costly deep tunnels to be dredged *underneath* Honolulu Harbor to connect up with major new tourism traps around and in the harbor surrounding Sand Island Park.

Newly arrived sleepy tourists line up for their first shots, Honolulu Airport. Photo: Ulla Hasager, 1992.

It even includes relocating the Coast Guard station from Honolulu Harbor to Pearl Harbor – over the CG's protest – to accomodate luxury cruiseship tourism now expanding in downtown Honolulu.

In future dollars, the Plan will cost well over half a billion dollars in taxpayers money! Its benefits will profit some of Hawai'i's largest landowners and developers planning and rapidly building monster highrises in Kaka'ako in Honolulu! Sand Island Park was conceived, fought for and won by Save Our Surf teenagers through massive public educationals and the two largest demonstrations in Capitol history in 1970 and 1971 – a total of 5,000 jubilant wave riders and supporters.

But now government schemes and lies abound, especially by those put in office with corporate PAC fundings –11 million bucks for Waihe'e and Cayetano alone in 1986 and another four million last year. Twenty years after one of Hawai'i's most noteworthy peoples' environmental victories – Sand Island State Park – we are witness to the total destruction – for a tourist promenade – of a half mile of tidal pools very popular with landlocked West Honolulu families with small children. The tidal pools lay for over 50 years along Sand Island's *makai* (seaside) shoreline.

Three large breakwaters now being constructed – a total of 40,000 tons of huge boulders being dumped into the ocean by the Waihe'e administration and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers – will destroy a portion of Sand Island's prime surfing area. Waihe'e's bureaucrats and the Corps recently lied sickeningly to the public over the project, claiming *"serious and progressive erosion that threatens the entire Park and all its improvements."* Not only is there no erosion. The basic *makai* shoreline of the Park has been stable for 57 years. The clearly evident accumulation of new natural sands from offshore has built up a better natural sand beach than found at Waikīkī.

In a stupid act in 1978 upon completion of the Park, state planners ordered *"soil and grass placed as close to the ocean as possible."* Waves quickly restored the natural upper reach of waves zone. The state's blunder led to the Army's false erosion claim and a nearly $3 million expense to taxpayers along with the environmental losses. Save Our Surf believes that all the evidence including admission by park planners, points to the erosion scam as an adjunct to luxury cruise ship tourism. Waihe'e's Honolulu Waterfront Master Plan shows two "Water Taxi" routes connecting the new super-luxury cruise ship berths at Piers 2, 10 and 11 with the tourist promenade and other tourist goodies in Sand Island Park.

Department of Land and Natural Resources' William Paty, his staff, Department of Business and Economic Development and Tourism's Murray Towill and the Army Corps all deceived the public blatantly in recent press releases claiming that the Army's "erosion control" project at Sand Island Park has no relation to the Honolulu Waterfront Master Plan's downtown luxury cruise ship facilities.

Hidden under the multi-million dollar unpublicized expenditures of public tax money for luxury cruise ship tourism is the fact that illegal offshore drug deliveries from foreign ports is far less detectable via cruise ships than federal screening of tourists' baggage and bodies at the airport.

Coastal Plunder

In addition to the foregoing, we see the massive deterioration of Hawai'i's coastal waters from land mismanagement inland together with tourism-related dredging and filling based on inept design failures by desk-bound Army Corps engineers and corporate planners.

A 3-year legislatively funded Surf Parameters study, Report No. 33 published in 1973 by the University of Hawai'i, Department of Ocean Engineering, contains a list of structural design failures of the Army Corps

involving every major harbor in Hawai'i and most of the boat harbors as well. Nearly all were directly or indirectly tourism related. Evidence was gathered from the designers themselves. Appropriations for repairs are described as "improvements."

An October 1973 discovery at Ke'ehi Lagoon by two Save Our Surf researchers conducting a photo survey of O'ahu's south shore brought to light the largest illegal dumping case in U.S. history according to Army Corps files. It involved Hawai'i's three largest industrial companies and their corporate executives.

Army files in Washington revealed that the three companies were liable for $45 million in fines. They had dumped highly toxic hydrocarbons and other wastes including cement in Ke'ehi Lagoon covering 32.5 acres of stolen public lands.

On these twice stolen lands (including 1893), they had built their fabrication plants and operated rent free for nearly a quarter century.

All were deeply involved in fabricating cement structures and road topping materials for tourism hotels, roads and highways.

The expose by Save Our Surf resulted in extensive media coverage. As is fairly widely known, governors' campaigns are funded by corporate PAC's. As stated above, federal and local judges are appointed through local governor-appointed judicial selection recommendations.

A federal judge appointed through this judicial selection process let the three companies off without a penny in fines. A court-ordered wall to insulate the contaminated fill area from Ke'ehi Lagoon fishery was eventually paid by us taxpayers, not the corporate leaders originally indicted for criminal conspiracy, theft, pollution and other crimes against public resources.

Much of their industrial output was tourism related including hotel pilings and platforms for Waikīkī's cement jungle and included publicly funded construction of tourism's airport ramps, freeways and facilities.

The Tourism Generator

Private profits to large landowners, private planning agencies, developers, banks and contractors, many with corporate headquarters and stockholders overseas in the U.S., Japan and elsewhere, are the primary motivation for Hawai'i's rampant and dangerously one-sided economy.

Most tourism developments today include both hotels and condominiums. Before hotel profits begin, word has to spread out world wide through highly competitive linkages and promotions.

Advance condo sales, however, can start the speculative profit flow even before final plans are completed. One of the consequences is that Hawai'i's artificial housing crisis spirals in two directions.

At the low end, we have a chronic shortage of "affordable" housing for low and middle income families. As stated, it is the worst in the nation. Tourism sucks cheap overseas labor to Hawai'i where immigrant workers often find themselves unable to afford the high and escalating rents. The crisis worsens constantly.

At the other end is the chronic shortage of *buyers* of high-cost speculatively built luxury dwellings. So Hawai'i has rising numbers of both homeless people and people-less homes! Both reflect the systemic drive for profits, prestige and plunder.

The lopsided concentration of depressed working families in congested urban centers bottled up inland and surrounded by guarded enclaves of often unoccupied homes of the absentee super-rich presents an explosive social conflict in the not too distant future.

Luxury enclaves of the super-rich such as at Portlock, Kāhala, Black Point, Diamond Head, Waikīkī, Kaka'ako, and elsewhere throughout the islands, occupy and close off access routes to Hawai'i's shoreline recreational and subsistence fishing resources.

Not only do they block off public access to the coastline, but runoff from their chlorinated swimming pools and often private rubbish disposals during construction denigrate and destroy the delicate tidal pool biosphere.

Old time fishermen of now urbanized coastlines have had their traditional fishing and bait resources destroyed along with their associated cultural traditions.

The tourism economy also has led to extensive plans for yacht harbor-based marinas, usually Japan financed and overseas' controlled. Their yacht harbors and channels have already begun to destroy surfing and associated fishing reefs and the coastal biosphere – its *limu*, fishing and endangered species' habitats – with millions of cubic yards of dredging silt.

Within hours of the original dredging, the silt is carried for miles in both directions by tidal, wave and wind induced currents. Examples are Hawai'i Kai and West Beach Resort with many new marinas now being planned at 'Ewa Beach, the Kona Coast and throughout the islands.

With this unstable gambler's economy, Hawai'i future may be likened to a gang of weighty cheerleaders paddling into stormy seas in a narrow single hull canoe with no outrigger.

Rethinking the Military in Hawai'i

By Kathy Ferguson, Phyllis Turnbull and Mehmed Ali

The military is often discussed in Hawai'i as one of its major industries but militarism as a way of working and thinking remains largely invisible. Even the recent war did not reveal the military as an institutional presence that owns land, controls resources, or affects daily life. The ways that the public speak abort the military, and the ways that the military speaks about itself, make it sound so ordinary that no one would ask questions about it and its extensive power.

Our goal is to call attention to the military's presence in language, institutions and everyday life, and encourage people to raise questions about it.

We want to call attention to 3 ways the military can be talked about:

1. as gendered colonialism
2. as an agent of national security
3. as a career or job opportunity

Gendered colonialism remembers how Pacific islands were "discovered" by Europeans who, unaware of and uninterested in the islanders' own story and history, wrote their own names and purposes on the land and its people. In the imagination of the colonizers, Hawai'i was a "feminine" place that waited passively for an outside force to come and take charge. While the most visible articulations of Hawai'i as a soft, welcoming, feminine place appear now in the strategic economies of tourism, the manly military continues to confirm itself and its eligibilities on a gendered horizon through such practices as determining the islands' needs in terms of their own operational requirements, re-naming islands and landmarks, and servicemembers' assumptions that when they come in a to a new place, they "kind of adopt it." Even when the military contains a certain number of women, it is still very masculine in its language, its hierarchies, and its standard operating procedures.

Similarly, national security is often thought of as a necessary way of taking charge of a place in order to defend it and its people. This is usually seen as a good thing since most people like the idea of security and protection. But we need to ask who, and what is being protected. Is it the people who live in a place, their lives and their aspirations, or is it the protectors themselves? The military has a vested interest in convincing us that the world is a dangerous place and we need them to protect us.

Many people are connected to the military through a job or a career. If the military is viewed as just a job (although supposedly an exciting one, since "it's not just a job; it's an adventure") then it is readily absorbed into the everyday, the commonplace. By rendering war clean, a matter of proper management and technique, the military can disappear as a maker of death, its bellicosity repackaged as "real men" who "just do their jobs".

The protection of secure jobs is not part of the military security agenda. While the military does employ a number of civilians, its record as a stable employer is spotty. Economic dependence on the military puts the labor force of Hawai'i in a vulnerable position.

Military Chronology

1778 – Capt. Cook enters Hawaiian waters
1814 – First U.S. warship arrive in Honolulu
1826 – Regular cruises to Hawai'i by U.S. warships begin
1867 – Permanent rotation of warships to Hawai'i begins
1873 – U.S. Generals John Schofield and B.S. Alexander survey islands for military bases
1874 – U.S. Marines land and arrest demonstrators supporting election of Queen Emma
1887 – Renewal of Reciprocity Treaty gives Navy 7-year lease to Pearl Harbor (Pu'uloa)
1893 – U.S. Marines and sailors land to support men who overthrew the legitimate government of Queen Lili'uokalani
1898 – Hawai'i annexed to the U.S.
1898 – First permanent military garrison arrives, establishes Camp McKinley near Diamond Head (Lae'ahi)
1905 – Fort DeRussy established
1906 – Fort Ruger established
1907 – Forts Shafter and Armstrong established
1908 – Schofield Barracks established
1913 – Fort Kamehameha established
1933 – Bellows Air Field established
1934 – Lualualei Naval Magazine established
1938 – Hickam Air Field established
1939 – Kane'ohe Naval Air Station established
1941 – Martial law proclaimed; Gen. Walter Short becomes governor
1942 – Barbers Point (Kala'eloa) Naval Air Station established
1943 – Army confiscates Mākua Valley for bombing purposes

1944 – Martial law lifted by FDR
1946 – U.S. Supreme Court holds martial law unconstitutional
1953 – Executive order gives Navy exclusive rights to Kaho'olawe
1959 – Hawai'i becomes U.S. state
1990 – Executive order halts Kaho'olawe bombing

The Militarization of Hawai'i

Captain Cook's voyages to Hawai'i were the initial engines of empire in the islands. Hawai'i's lack of Western technology and Christianity marked it, for Cook and later explorers, as a place proper for conquest. Hawai'i's most important relationships were defined as those with its colonizers. Whatever voyaging had been done by the Polynesians, and whatever meanings and relationships existed previously between the natives and the land, were invisible on Cook's maps. Hawai'i's colonizers thought of themselves as bringing meaning and signifiance to a place that otherwise had none – the islands were for them. Hawai'i's colonizers became its protectors, and its security became part of U.S. "national security." Hawai'i was incorporated into a new world order in which the loss of sovereignty was re-written as progress.

The Fort DeRussy Army Museum is a rich source of the military's understandings of itself and of Hawai'i as suitable for U.S. military occupation. For example, in the second exhibit of the museum the rich culture of pre-contact Hawai'i is folded neatly into a military model. The caption proclaims:"Hawaiians sailed to their islands nearly a thousand years before Columbus' time , and developed military systems." Similarly, the ethnic diversity and conflict of contemporary Hawai'i is absorbed into a simplistic story of proud warriors, brave soldiers, and patriotic citizens. The century of rule by the monarchy is characterized as "relatively peaceful," despite the assault on indigenous people by epidemics, missionaries, soldiers, traders, and businessmen.Cession of Pearl Harbor to the U.S. in the late 1800s in exchange for trade reciprocity is described benignly as "mutually advantageous"; no hint is given that the mutual advantage was between the sugar industry, which was begun by U.S. missionaries, and the U.S. military.

Silence reigns in the museum with regard to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by the U.S. Marines. Neatly, the exhibit panel which might, chronologically, have contained reference to the overthrow is replaced by an "exit" sign and door. Again Hawai'i is defined within an exclusively military model of the world: it is "critical to the military

interests of the U.S." and a part of the "Pacific Strategy." The viewer is reassured that the 1898 treaty of annexation was "offered by the government of the Republic of Hawai'i," with no hint of any coercion or inequality behind that "offer." Hawai'i is portrayed as an obliging partner in U.S. military expansion.

This view of the military as a benevolent influence in Hawai'i continues in the present. For example, in 1984 local political and economic leaders made an enthusiastic pitch to secure the home porting of the USS Missouri. Then Governor George Ariyoshi said: "Hawai'i's association with the U.S. Navy dates back to an era when kings and queens ruled the Hawaiian monarchy, and it has been a partnership enjoyed by both for over a century." Then Congressperson Cec Heftel declared that "Hawai'i and the military need one another and must work together for the good of both the military and civilian communities." Other public officials were equally positive. Supporters of homeporting produced a document that explicitly assumed "broad and deep support for the military in every facet and every level of our society." Broad and deep public participation in the preparation of this document, however, was absent. No hint was given that there is an active anti-military movement in Hawai'i, or that there could be any reason to have reservations about military expansion here.

The Military and the Environment

Despite strong opposition by private citizens and the Territorial government in the early 20th century, the military has long actively pursued the acquisition of large tracts of land for its operations, actual and projected. Exactly how much land is currently owned or controlled by the military is not known for sure; estimates range from 10 to 25% of O'ahu and over 10% statewide. Whatever the amount, it is enough to make the military a major force in land control and use in this small state. The fingerprints of the military continue to mark the geographic landscape of Hawai'i in manners both subtle and gross.

Where historically, order was written on the land with a military hand to enable the military to carry out its mission it is the whole physical environment of Hawai'i which today is so vulnerable to the military's inscriptions. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) lists 31 federal hazardous waste sites in Hawai'i which gives this state the dubious distinction of having the highest docketed concentration of all. Of all federal installations here, the military has been called the largest producer of toxic waste. Pearl Harbor is one of 22 sites recently selected for addition

to the Federal Superfund National Priorities List. Among the wastes the military disposes of are pesticides, waste oil, asbestos, chromic acids, PCBs, solvents such as TCE, and solid nuclear wastes. This is not necessarily a complete list. Given the small, fragile ecosystem of O'ahu, the possibility of these wastes contaminating the Pearl Harbor storage alone have the potential for contaminating the Pearl Harbor aquifer that is the main source of drinking water for Honolulu.

The military's response to these risks is neither exemplary nor even responsible; when it takes action it is usually the result of prodding by outside groups or mandates by outside agencies, including courts. Even then the military's protectiveness seems directed to its own ends rather than those of the environment. It defended the release of freon gas (destructive to the ozone layer), as occurs in rocket launches from Barking Sands (Ke-one-kani-o-Nohili)) on Kaua'i, on the grounds that the release takes place in the atmosphere and is therefore outside the legal jurisdiction of the state. The Pentagon's FY '91 budget for environmental cleanup amounts to less than a third of a percent of its overall budget.

The island of Kaho'olawe is perhaps the best known case of the military's penetration of the land and the consequences are reprehensible. For nearly fifty continuous years, the military use of the island as a bombing target, coupled with the destructive grazing of feral goats and tame cattle, has resulted in a reconfiguration of the coastline, the destruction of the former highest elevation, and displacement of multiple layers of soil.

Despite their admission of destroying the land, the military claims the shelling of Kaho'olawe has physically improved the island. In 1988, a Navy spokesperson stated "evidence suggests that bombing the hardpan breaks up the soil crust, allowing seeds to penetrate and germinate, thus promoting new plant growth in some target areas." It is difficult to imagine that any vegetation is really stimulated by bombing it. The military has destroyed rare native Hawaiian forest at Pōhakuloa, and caused long lasting fires in several valleys on O'ahu. Its long term use of several valleys on O'ahu have left so much unexploded ammunition there that the valleys cannot be used for other purposes. Although its lands are "home" to a number of endangered species of flora and fauna, military Environmental Impact Statements acknowledge that training has adverse effects upon the land and its creatures; they also conclude that it can't be helped.

And the beat goes on. The Army still plans to destroy nerve gas on Johnston Island despite widespread opposition in the Pacific as well as in nearby Hawai'i, where the House of Representatives, the Office of

Hawaiian Affairs, and the Council of Churches are on record in opposition. The Army has yet to file for the necessary Environmental Protection Agency permit modification but already has the gas on hand. Exhausts and propellants from planned Star Wars projects on Kaua'i could endanger the entire land and marine ecosystems while another project would emit sonic booms every ten minutes and require unprecedented amounts of electrical energy.

We began by noting how the military feminizes the land and we also asked who and what is being protected by the military. With that in mind, the military's record of environmental destruction looks uncomfortably like a common crime of violence against women who have no protection. Up to now, the military has been able to call this destruction an "acceptable trade-off for a strong national defense." But this record makes clear that if the world is a dangerous place, the military's environmental record has contributed to making Hawai'i a dangerous place.

Military Statistics

- There are approximately 3,000 (unconfirmed) nuclear weapons stores on O'ahu.
- Accidental aerial bombings of Maui and Ni'ihau occurred in 1965 and 1969.
- Wai'anae was accidentally shelled by the army four times from 1987-1990.
- Over 150,000 military personnel and dependents reside in Hawai'i.
- 15,000 military families live off base and thus compete for housing with the rest of Hawai'i's residents.
- Since annexation, over 200 executive orders have appropriated land for military purposes.
- The federal government renegotiated its state landholdings after statehood, claiming 75% outright and leasing the rest for 65 years at $1 per lease.
- 140,000 acres of ceded lands are used by the military.

The Military and Local Cultures

Because military personnel are a large minority in Hawai'i, comprising approximately 16% of O'ahu's population, they have the ability to change the unique character of the islands. Interactions between residents and military personnel sometimes produce overt violence. The Damon Tract

Riot of 1945 pitted sailors from the Honolulu Naval Air Station against nearby civilians who were termed "gooks" by the sailors. Since that time, smaller conflicts have occurred regularly, resulting in further ill will on the part of both groups.

More pervasive than the occasional physical confrontation, however, is the general policy of military separateness from the local population. This entails both a causal disregard for local culture and history, and an equally causal willingness to appropriate its symbols and resources. One frequently hears claims that military personnel are no different from everyone else in Hawai'i since everyone here is an immigrant. Such a view overlooks the significance of the military's largely Caucasian presence. It also erases the particular history of the place, including the overthrow of the legitimate government of Queen Lili'uokalani in which the U.S. military participated. There are important differences between the Polynesians who voyaged here 2000 years ago, the missionaries who arrived in the 19th century, and the soldiers who just got off the boat. Servicemembers are often segregated from the general populace; they live, work, and play in separate military ghettos. Many individuals in the military perceive Hawai'i as a hardship post. It is expensive, and it lacks the amenities and recreational activities to which mainlanders are accustomed. The average tour in Hawai'i, for both officers and enlisted personnel, is three years, but for many, much of this time is spent at sea or on deployments to East Asia. This leaves little time or inclination to acculturate the servicemembers to the local scene. Military personnel are usually indistinguishable except perhaps by their distinctive haircuts, from the tourists who also believe that Waikīkī is the center of Hawaiian culture.

Another form of disregard is the destruction of Native Hawaiian archaeological sites which belittles the desire or ability of indigenous Hawaiians (*ka po'e Hawai'i)* to maintain their culture and religion. The military exercises control over, and frequently destroys, burial sites, *heiau* (religious sites), *ko'a* (fishing shrines), *loko i'a* (fish pounds), *lua* (habitation and shelter caves), and *haka* (terraced platforms). When the military does protect such sites, it is not to preserve cultural artifacts but to accumulate scientific information. Their concern is with the sites as data, not as representations of a way of life under assault.

Disregard and destruction of local cultures is matched by military appropriation of them. The military has recruited the language, symbols and resources of Hawai'i to suit its needs. For example , the insignia of the 25th Infantry Division (light), based at Schofield Barracks, is the taro leaf (*kalo lau*) with a bright yellow lightning bolt emblazoned over it. Navy

ships arriving at Pearl Harbor are greeted with gigantic plastic leis hung over the bow. Hawaiian words of greeting and thanks dot the speeches of incoming commanders. The Army Museum is replete with references to Hawai'i as an "R and R" center for the armed forces; smiling young local women in exotic garb embrace (usually White) soldiers with welcoming arms. This representation of Hawai'i as a soft, welcoming feminine place parallels the images in the tourist brochures. It continues the claim that a feminine, receptive Hawai'i is here for the use of the manly military.

Jobs and the Local Economy

The military workplace provides some advantages for its recruits. It guarantees a certain level of wages, retirement income, medical and educational benefits. Such advantages might, temporarily, hide the less attractive aspects of military work. But eventually it becomes clear that the work of the military is to kill "the enemy," who are also people. It also becomes evident that the military workplace reproduces the same gender, race and class inequalities that exist in the larger society.

Modern recruiting is different from the old days when young men were given strong drink and shanghaied on to ships, but modern recruiting practices still refrain from disclosing the full picture about life in the service. The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Personnel acknowledges that "our message to prospective volunteers emphasizes elements of military service most likely to appeal to them."

Recruiting literature sanitizes military labour. It stresses physical stamina – enlistees dressed in fatigues rappelling down cliffs, for example; camaraderie – enlistees marching or doing calisthenics: educational benefits – enlistees pouring over books in a library-like setting; and travel – enlistees encountering exotic people in distant lands. But there is a great distance between the romantic recruitment imagery and the harsh confines of basic training. It is a shift from sports-oriented to death-oriented physical skills; from pleasant camaraderie to ruthless hierarchy and the mentality of a good "us" versus a bad "them"; from studious learning to refining the techniques of battle; from exciting travel to involuntary deployment.

In recent years the focus of recruiting has been on the benefits and job skills to be had from military service. What is not disclosed to many volunteers, however, is that many of the benefits accrue only after a substantial amount of servicetime is invested and that most of the "job skills" are inapplicable to any careers in the non-military sector. Recruiters

in recent months have shifted their focus somewhat to tap into the patriotic fervour created by Desert Storm, which is a way of promising less through appealing to young people's patriotism. The Department of Education of the State of Hawai'i also assists military recruiters by routinely forwarding them the names and addresses of high school graduates.

As an industry, the military also employs numerous civilians. Governor John Waihe'e has proclaimed that "military bases and installations provide stable employment in technical and service skills, defense logistical requirements fuel the business economy and put Hawai'i on the map." Residents of Hawai'i hear this endorsement of the military's economic benefits repeated so often that it begins to sound like an act of faith. Should we believe it?

There are some good reasons to be sceptical. The state is dependent upon the military to provide the necessary data for studies of the military. It is likely that the military presents itself in the most favorable light. The military advisory committees who do the studies are drawn from the ranks of local elites, including corporate, banking, civic, educational, political and social leaders. Such groups are not likely to bring a critical eye to their work. For example, they are not likely to include the damage to local culture in their understanding of the "cost" of the military's presence here. Alternative sources of information are difficult to locate. In a rare public discussion of economic conversion (converting Pearl Harbor to peace related, rather than war related, production) the Governor's special assistant on economic affairs demurred, fearing to give any offense to military officials: "that's like a slap in the face and a vote of no confidence in the military." Such defence to military sensibilities makes it difficult to believe that local authorities are independent in their evaluation of the military's contribution to the state. One of the supposed economic benefits of the military is its awarding of prime contracts to Hawai'i businesses for goods and services. In fiscal year 1990, however, contracts amounted to less than 7.5% of the total military expenditures in Hawai'i. The value of these contracts is less than half of the estimated state tax burden that goes toward federal defense expenditures. This tax burden would not be incurred had Hawai'i kept its independent sovereignty.

Another alleged economic benefit of the military in Hawai'i is its payroll outlays to servicemembers stationed here. But much of this payroll is not spent in the local economy. It is spent in the military commissaries and post exchanges, or out-of-state while the servicemembers are on deployment. One study determined that the "Hawai'i state treasury loses

$17.2 million each year as a result of the sales and excise tax exemptions" for military personnel.

Yet another claim for the military's economic significance in Hawai'i alleges that it created jobs for local civilians. This too is questionable. While the payroll at the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard is one of the highest in Hawai'i, the wages are divided among fewer than 5,500 people. This benefits only a small part of the state's workforce. The work done there centers on repairs and produces little that could generate further income for the state.

Most importantly, the military's economic contribution to Hawai'i is tentative and unpredictable mainly because its investments and cutbacks are not locally controlled. In 1987, local procurements of petroleum by the military were slashed to $7million from the previous year's $182 million. The military is not a reliable employer in the long run either; Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard is scheduled to lose over 1,200 jobs in 1991.

One kind of labour which the military does promote is sexual. In the Philippines, for example, the U.S. military literally pimps for its servicemen, working with local officials and businessmen to provide women, monitor them, and check them for venereal disease. This was also done in Hawai'i during the Second World War. With the redeployments that will come about as a loss of Clark Field and Subic Bay in the Philippines it is at least possible that covert military encouragement of sexual labour will reappear in Hawai'i.

Conclusion

There are already individuals and groups in Hawai'i who question the desirability of the military's presence here. Native Hawaiians have been at the forefront in declaring their misgivings about the military in Hawai'i, and Kaho'olawe is just one of their struggles. Declarations of loyalty of the military and its so-called benefits come frequently from officials and elites, but these cannot erase a certain amount of scepticism on the part of some citizens. Our goal has been to contribute to the ability of the residents of Hawai'i to think critically about the military's activities here. Our target is not individuals but an institution that controls land, wields enormous resources, and affects the ways that we live. By calling attention to the various languages in which the military can be presented, we hope to enable people to expect, even require, this powerful institution to account for itself and be accountable to us.

Note

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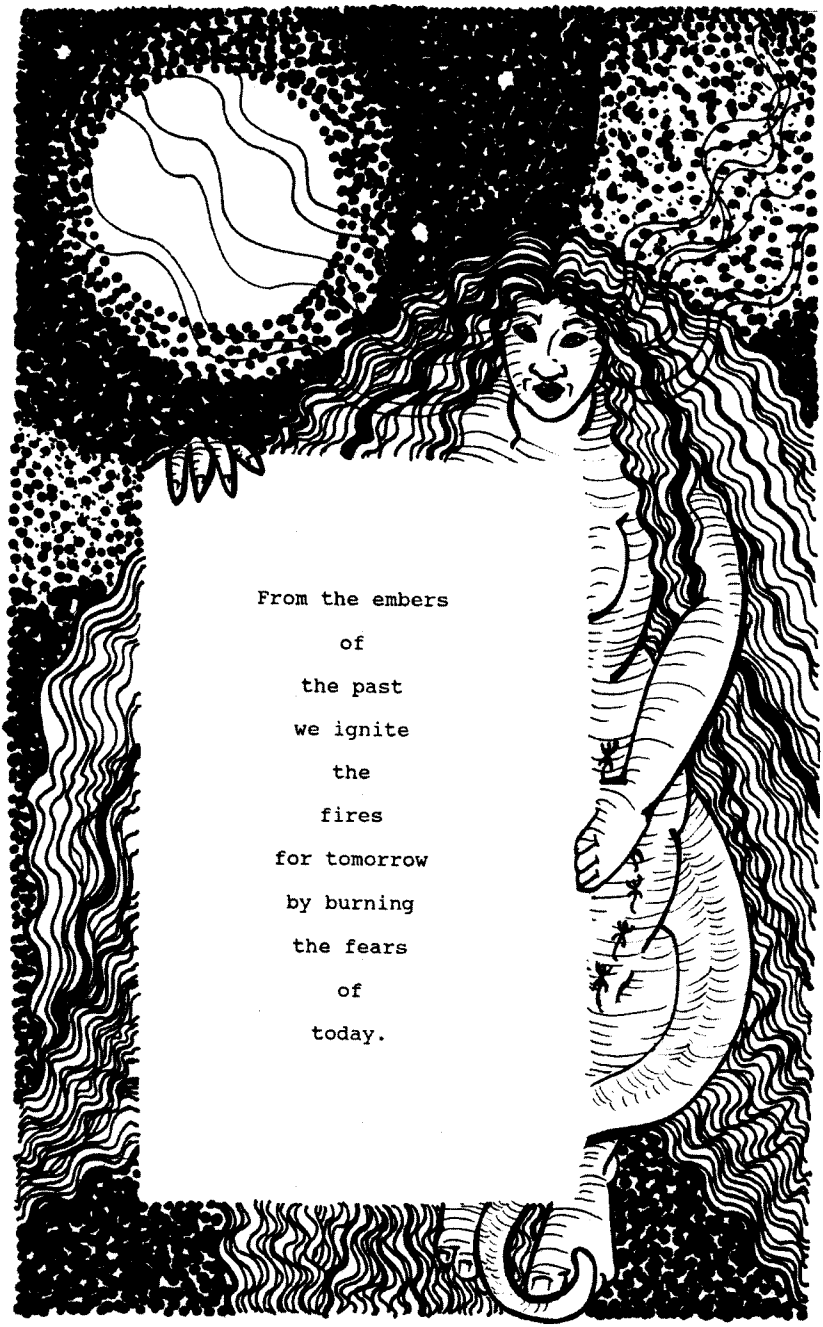
HAWAIIAN LAND: MĀLAMA ʻĀINA vs. DEVELOPMENT



From the embers

of

the past

we ignite

the

fires

for tomorrow

by burning

the fears

of

today.

The Healing of Kaho'olawe

By Noa Emmett Aluli and Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor

Kaho'olawe is a microcosm of Hawaiian history that reflects the many problems and issues concerning the Hawaiian people. The island continues to be a focus for Native Hawaiian political action to restore control of Hawai'i's native resources to the Indigenous Hawaiians, and over the past twelve years, since the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana has assumed stewardship of the island, it has become a center for the perpetuation of Native Hawaiian spiritual beliefs and practices.

On December 8, 1941, Kaho'olawe was seized by the U.S. military to be used as a practice bombing target during World War II. While first promising to return the island after the war, the military kept delaying until president Eisenhower issued executive order 10436 in 1952 officially taking Kaho'olawe for naval operations until such time as they no longer needed it. The Navy's abusive bombing and shelling, coupled with their neglect of the natural and cultural resources of the island and the grazing of goats and sheep left the island in an eroded and degraded condition.

Sacred Refuge of Kanaloa

Kaho'olawe is the smallest of the eight major Hawaiian Islands. It is 45 square miles, 28,600 acres. At its highest point it is 1500 feet. The literal translation of Kaho'olawe is "the carrying away"; some interpret it as carrying away from the island, referring to the ocean currents that come together from the other islands, merge and flow southward as the Kealaikahiki Channel, Pathway-to-Tahiti Channel. Kaho'olawe is believed to have been a major departure point from where Hawaiians left when they travelled between Hawai'i and Tahiti.

The older name for Kaho'olawe is "Ko Hema Lamalama O Kanaloa" or Southern-Beacon-of-Kanaloa. Some pronounce it "Kohe Mālamalama O Kanaloa" or Sacred-Refuge-of-Kanaloa. In some chants the island is simply called Kanaloa – the god of the ocean, the deep sea, the deep foundation of the islands under the ocean, and of navigation and carving. It is the only island in the entire Pacific named after a major god, showing its special significance.

The sites remaining on the island reveal cultural value to the ancient Hawaiians. At the central part of the island is, for instance, the bell stone, which was broken in half, carried up and put back together. The split in the

rock is oriented north to south and is tilted at an angle to help in the calculations of the astronomical calender. It was the site of a *hālau* (school) for training in astronomy and navigation, and it still is an ideal place for astronomical observation and training in navigation.

There a number of *ko'a* (fishing shrines) on the island, which are identified for example by the presence of white coral and shells inland or by *kū'ula* stones for the god Ku, as patron of fishing. The *kū'ula* stones serve as land markers for ocean fishing grounds. Also, one of the only three known adze quarries in Hawai'i is on Kaho'olawe. It is right in the middle of the bombing impact zone. Two of the major *heiau* (temples), the Hale o Papa, or women's *heiau*, and the men's *heiau*, are both used today for religious purposes. There are petroglyphs at various sites – the largest field is in the impact zone, in the direct line from naval ships.

Kaho'olawe was inhabitated for over thousand years. The first settlers may have come to Kaho'olawe from Maui as fishermen and decided to make a home here. The resident population was 50 or more up through the 1850s. From 1830 to the 1850s Kaho'olawe was furthermore used as a penal colony where the monarchy of Hawai'i would send their rivals to keep them away from the people, so they would not be able to gain power and support.

In 1793, Vancouver introduced goats to Maui and shortly after that they were taken to Kaho'olawe. The goats multiplied rapidly and have been a major destructive force on the island for the last 150 years. In 1910 the ranching was haulted, because of the overstocking of sheep and goats which had seriously eroded the island. The island was declared a territorial forest reserve. But in 1919, nine years after the (unsuccessful) attempt to reestablish a forest, the territory leased Kaho'olawe out to a rancher, who assured that he would revegetate and reforest the island and eradicate the goats. The territory gave him a two year conditional lease, and within that time he exported 13,000 live goats and killed many more thousands. Impressed by his efforts, the territory granted him a lease up through the 1950s. But on December 8, 1941, one day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the military declared martial law and seized Kaho'olawe.

Through the years the navy bombed the entire island and seriously aggravated the already existing erosion. They also conducted spectacular experiments like simulating an atomic blast on the island in 1965. 500 tons of TNT was blasted to test the impact on ships anchored offshore. It lightened up the sky like day on the neighbor island, Maui. The experiment cracked the water table on part of the island and created a salt water pond that nothing lives in.

KAHO'OLAWE

1953 - 1976

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

The Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims

OUR PURPOSE IN OCCUPYING KAHOOLAWE IS TO REASSERT OUR RIGHT TO THE 'AINA, TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE ISSUE OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN RIGHTS, TO SURVEY THE DEVASTATION THAT YEARS OF CONTROL BY NON-HAWAIIANS HAS BROUGHT TO THE ISLAND, AND TO DISCOVER IN WHAT WAY FUTURE WASTE OF THE LAND CAN BE PREVENTED. KAHOOLAWE IS AN EXTREME EXAMPLE OF HOW OUR NATIVE LANDS HAVE BEEN ABUSED AND LAID TO WASTE, BUT A SIMILAR PROCESS IS OCCURRING THROUGHOUT THE ISLANDS.

Walter Ritte
Emmett Aluli
Ellen Miles
Karla Villalba
Steve Morse
Kimo Aluli
George Helm
Ian Lind
Gail Kawaipuna Prejean

KAHOOLAWE NINE

Suite 404 • 116 So. King St. • Honolulu, Hi. 96813 • (808) 537-9921 • A Non-Profit Organization

Although Kaho'olawe was originally part of the "ceded public lands trust" the Admissions Act included other provisions for lands which had been set aside by executive order of the president of the United States.

Ho'iho'i Hou –

Around March 6 or 7, 1977, two young men disappeared off the waters of Kaho'olawe. George Helm, 26, a musician and president of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, and Kimo Mitchell, 25, a commercial fisherman and National Park Service manager, were never seen or heard from again. Though considered *legally* dead, there is no doubt that George and Kimo are alive in spirit.

All were touched by their impulse to *ho'okupu* (to give, to cause to grow) "the good bruddahs" who talked and lived *aloha 'āina* (love for the land; giving in return to what gives you life).

Ho'iho'i Hou (giving back, returning, restoring, restitution) came into significant use in the 1890s. After the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, "Ho'iho'i Hou" was a cry uttered by Royalists who wanted their beloved Queen back on the throne and the Hawaiian monarchy restored. "*Ho'iho'i Hou*" is also the title of a book, a tribute to Helm and Mitchell edited by Morales (1984) with support and contributions from a wide range of people. That tribute is the source of the texts printed here.

George's Diary: Fourth Occupation of Kaho'olawe, Jan. 1977

Last Sunday of the month.

Day of Kaho'olawe occupation – using flashlight to write this note –

Much has been done in preparation for this protest (spiritually especially). Without the spiritual element, life would be like an empty breath, no substance.

Pi'ilani is guiding us through this adventure as we offered ho'okupu and mōhai aloha to the past at Hale o Pi'ilani.

The occupation of the military reservation is not so much a defiance as it is a responsibility to express our legitimate concern for the land of the

Section 5(c) of the Admissions Act excepted from transfer to the state any lands that, as of March 18, 1959, were set aside pursuant to any executive order (as one among several methods of setting aside land) for use of the United States. Kaho'olawe island was placed in the same category as the other 231,000 acres of land controlled by U.S. armed forces in Hawai'i. In Hawai'i, 6.3 percent of the land is used by the U.S. military, proportionately more than any other state in the nation.

Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana

Forming the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, Hawaiians pursued claims to the island as part of the original ceded lands trust to which they were

Hawaiian. Kaho'olawe is part of my culture – no other person than a Hawaiian can understand the pains of a lost culture. We are against warfare but more so against imperialism. Imperialism suffocates the growth of individual ethnicity.

Walter and I: We spent some moments of searching for *pōhaku* [rock, stone]. With the best use of our senses we tried to detect the pōhaku that radiated strangeness, different characteristics from other rocks. Only a sensitive human being who has not been robbed of his individual soul by mass education will understand us, Hawaiians looking at pōhaku for the lost world.

On February 11, 1977, George Helm was asked to speak before the state House of Representatives. It was an un-precedented event. No non-member had ever been allowed to address the House before. Helm declared it "a step forward in helping to bridge the gap between the politicians and the people who elect you here." The speech ended:
We are talking about *Aloha 'āina 'Ohana,* and if you cannot understand it, go do your homework. Mahalo.

Walter Ritte, Jr.:
Day after day, *kupuna* after *kupuna* gave George the knowledge and *mana* to change from the "nice" Hawaiian to the "activist" Hawaiian who loved so dearly.

Rodney Morales:
Kimo had all the positive qualities George Helm had wished for in all young Hawaiians: he had pride in his culture – and no sense of inferiority – a good education, a sense of purpose, and a willingness to give of himself.

beneficiaries. Native Hawaiians and the general public have protested to end the desecration of the *'āina* of Kaho'olawe; to preserve its sites; and to manage and control soil erosion with better conservation practices and programs. The 'Ohana advocates for Kaho'olawe to be part of a sovereign Hawaiian land base.

Beginning in 1976, Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana carried out a series of occupations of the island. These led to arrests and lengthy and expensive court defenses. The members were sentenced to imprisonment or they were barred from ever returning to Kaho'olawe. The 'Ohana filed a federal civil suit which sought compliance with environmental, historic site and religious freedom protection laws. By 1977 things were getting serious.

George Helm, the leader of the 'Ohana, and Kimo Mitchell mysteriously disappeared at sea while searching for two other activists on the island. Other members of the 'Ohana were again arrested and put on trial. It seemed to the public that the movement had been put down for a while. However all the suffering was not without reward.

The court required the Navy to conduct an environmental impact statement; identify, inventory and protect the historic sites of the island; submit for nomination to the secretary of the interior those sites which qualified for listing in the National Register of Historic Places; and to refer to the secretary for an opinion respecting the entire island's eligibility for inclusion in the National Register.

In 1980, an out-of-court settlement of the 1976 civil suit, called the *Consent Decree* was agreed to by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and the U.S. Navy, under a court order. The Consent Decree mandated the U.S. Navy to survey and protect historic and cultural sites on the island; clear surface ordnance from 10,000 acres; begin soil conservation and revegetation programs; eradicate the goats on the island; limit the ordnance impact area to the central third of the island; reduce the percentage of live ordnance used in training exercises; limit the size of individual ordnance to under 500 lbs.; create ordnance impact buffer zones around the archaeological sites and 800 yards inland from the shoreline; and restrict the use of the ocean for target practice or to jettison ordnance. The role of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana as steward of the island was acknowledged and they were allowed access to the island for four days in ten months of every year for religious, cultural, educational, and scientific activities.

In 1981, the entire island was placed on the National Register of Historic Places as a National Historic District when the completed archaeological survey revealed the importance of the island. 600 sites and 2,000 features were re-discovered.

Since the Consent Decree, the 'Ohana has taken over 4000 visitors to Kaho'olawe. It has re-dedicated ancestors' shrines, temples and places where religious ceremonies are conducted. Annually the 'Ohana conducts Makahiki ceremonies to honor Lono, the god of agricultural fertility. The 'Ohana has cleared hiking trails; and established a permanent base camp on the northeast side of the island as well as three temporary camps along the north and west side. 6,500 acres has been cleared of surface ordnance and all but three "judas" goats have been eradicated. Soil conservation and revegetation programs are helping to restore and revive the resources of Kaho'olawe.

On October 22, 1990, President Bush directed the secretary of the Navy to discontinue use of Kaho'olawe as a weapons range. On November 5, 1990, congress enacted senate bill 3088 which stated that the island not be used for bombing training for two years and 120 days. It also established a five-member commission, Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission, to recommend the terms of returning the island to the state. The commission submitted its draft report October 1992 and has until March 31, 1993, to submit the final report. The draft report unanimously recommended the island to be returned to the state. It recommended no military or commercial use of the island and that the federal government pay for the removal of unexploded bombs. It, furthermore, estimated that it would cost $110 million to clear the island of unexploded bombs and help restore it.

Cultural Resource Management

In 1981, the Navy was required to develop a cultural resources management plan under a memorandum of agreement between the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Officer. After ten years the cultural resources management plan was finally drafted in 1991-92. The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, the State Historic Preservation Office, and Maui County participated in the drafting of the plan.

A multi-disciplinary excavation of Kaho'olawe under the overview of Paul Rosendahl was completed in 1985. Although the contract period expired and the Navy paid for the reports, information was withheld and the final report was not available until 1989. In addition, the final recommendations for the report was not completed and turned in until June 1990. Day-by-day, month-by-month, year-by-year, the wind, the rain and military maneuvers have eroded the island and degraded its valuable cultural resources. There is a need to conduct a new survey of sites, particularly in the impact zone and to mark them permanently.

When the bombing stopped, a new threat to the cultural sites emerged from so-called "pot hunters", those who dig into cultural sites to steal the artifacts. A shrine was ransacked and artifacts from a burial cave along the ocean have been stolen. But the 'Ohana received assistance from University of Hawai'i archaeologists and worked with the State Historic Preservation Office and the Navy to repair and bless the shrine again. And recently the 'Ohana received and reinterred Hawaiian ancestral remains which had been stored at the Bishop Museum.

Land Management

'Ohana members believe in the beauty and spirit of the island and have searched for a way to heal her. They were uncomfortable with the Navy "conservation" programs which ignored the increasing goat population and, until recently, consisted of blasting holes to plant salt cedars or tamerisk trees and throwing tires and scrap metal from expended ordnance in gully formations. Eventually, the 'Ohana convinced the Navy to seriously pursue goat eradication and linked up the Navy with the Native Hawaiian Plant Society in order to explore alternative revegetation strategies.

The 'Ohana also lobbied the state legislature and received money for a study and assessment of the water resources on the island. Dr. Kate Vandemoer, a Native American hydrologist was hired as the consultant and developed an analysis of the environmental processes on the island. The research and modest demonstration projects exposed hydrological processes as the primary erosive force currently affecting the island. Given this understanding, the 'Ohana began to look at, communicate with and evaluate other conservation efforts on the island.

The focus of the water study was data collection and understanding natural processes on the island. The 'Ohana worked with the Navy, the state and the U.S. Geological Survey on the project. Highlights of the study's findings are:

1. Kaho'olawe is not a dry barren island, but rather it has been rendered a degraded environment due to Western land use practices of the last 200 years. The process can be reversed.

2. Kaho'olawe has water! A ground water source of over 13 square miles was discovered by Dr. James Kauahikaua of the U.S. Geological Survey, and Kaho'olawe receives approximately 24 billion gallons of rain each year!

3. The current erosion process, exacerbated by the Navy's abuse and neglect over the last 50 years, is at a threshold situation. Soil erosion rates, ranging between 57-600 tons per acre per year, are seriously threatening archaeological sites. Erosion control strategies must be implemented immediately to prevent ever more dramatic changes to the island's environment.

4. Demonstration projects of soil control structures and revegetation planting have shown that an enlightened natural resource management program can significantly reverse the erosive process and begin to heal the island.

5. Military training and soil conservation programs are contradictory and incompatible land uses. Gully heads are advanced by bomb craters; denuding of vegetation and surface erosion is accelerated by the frequent fires caused by target practice.

The success of the water study led to funding by the state legislature to develop restoration strategies in 1990 and 1991.

Ocean Management

The 'Ohana has advocated for a thorough study of the impact of the shelling and bombing upon the habitats of the *koholā* (humpback whales) who frequent the waters surrounding the island from November through May. The Navy, however, did not make it a budget priority. But the 'Ohana will participate with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in a survey of the marine environment adjacent to Kaho'olawe, including the fishing *ko'a* (traditional habitats and feeding grounds marked by land shrines). The goal is to establish a multi-species marine sanctuary around the island in order to protect and enhance the rich marine resources. Navy ships should be restricted from passing within three miles of the island. There is also a need to document the location of unexploded ordnance in the reef and adjacent waters for future clearance by the Navy.

Hawaiian Custom, Belief, and Practice

On every access to Kaho'olawe people exercise their Native Hawaiian spiritual belief and custom. For the past eleven years, during the Makahiki, the 'Ohana as a whole has honored Lono, Hawaiian god of agriculture, with *ho'okupu* (offerings) in traditional religious ceremonies. These ceremonies open the Makahiki season for Kaho'olawe in November and close it in January.

The traditional practice of Hawaiian religion and the celebration of ceremonial rituals require discipline and maximum concentration. The Navy's presence in the immediate vicinity and on the path of the processions has disturbed and interfered with the ceremonies. The Navy's insistence to accompany the processions along trails and roads, which were well-traveled and over which they even drove jeeps and trucks, constituted, from the 'Ohana's perspective, an infringement upon and interference with of the first amendment right to freely practice religion. But since October 1990, when the moratorium on ordnance delivery

training on the island was first declared, the trails have been checked in advance and the processions proceed without Navy escort.

Future Use

Kaho'olawe can be used and enjoyed by the people of Hawai'i as a Native Hawaiian cultural center. The 'Ohana envisions future use of Kaho'olawe in the following ways:

(a) *wahi pana* or traditional sacred place of the Hawaiian people;

(b) *pu'uhonua* or place of refuge for Hawaiians from all walks of life to visit and experience the warmth and comfort of the land, practice *aloha 'āina* and get back in touch with their spirituality as Hawaiians;

(c) cultural learning center where traditional cultural and spiritual customs, beliefs and practices of the Hawaiian people can be freely practiced and flourish; and

(d) natural marine and land reserve where the natural resources of the land and the ocean can be restored and re-established. The 'Ohana would like to see the island revegetated with native species of plants and to attract the native birds back to the island. Together with this reserve status the 'Ohana would like to have Native Hawaiian access and gathering rights on Kaho'olawe and in the surrounding ocean recognized and allowed. They believe that traditional Native Hawaiian access and gathering practices for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes are consistent with perpetuation of natural resources and should not only be recognized on Kaho'olawe but in all natural area reserve areas on every island.

'Aloha 'Āina

At the foundation of the work of the 'Ohana is the Hawaiian way of *aloha 'āina*: love, respect, caring for, and responsibility for our land. The *'āina* and all of nature is the source of existence, not only as the origin of humanity, but also as the source of natural resources for day-to-day subsistence. The Hawaiian related to the land as an ancestor and dear friend, giving its various natural forms and features descriptive names just as they named their own children. They honored and worshiped the life forces of nature as gods. They did not possess or own the land or its abundant resources. This was inconceivable. Instead, they maintained stewardship over it – planting and fishing according to the moon phases and the changes from rainy to dry seasons.

Today is a real new age for Hawaiians. Young and even old, want to go back to their roots, want to get to understand their geneaology, knowing that they are descended from the gods. Kaho'olawe has been central to cultivating this kind of awareness. Just being on Kaho'olawe is actually a religious ceremony for a lot of people. Hawaiian religion is also a sovereign claim.

Kaho'olawe helped to activate and organize Hawaiian grassroots movements for *aloha 'āina* and rural island community concerns on all the islands. Now, with the ending of the bombing, there is a potential to bring the island home to the people.

The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana wants Kaho'olawe to set a precedent for a sovereign land base that would eventually come under the jurisdiction of a re–established Hawaiian nation. The 'Ohana also wants to recognize traditional and spiritual Hawaiian customs, beliefs and practices on the island. Native Hawaiian gathering and fishing rigths in natural area, land and marine reserves may get special standing and acknowledgement for the first time. Kaho'olawe is a place that will always teach us about being Hawaiian – even in the modern Hawai'i we live in today.

E ho'omālamalama hou ka mauli ola Kohemālamalama – the quality of native life style will again shine forth at Kohemālamalama.

This article is a compilation of material written by Noa Emmett Aluli (1991) and by Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor (1992b,c,d).

Postscript

January 28, 1993, Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana endorsed a state administration bill that calls for the island and its waters to be part of a public land trust until management and control can be transferred to "a sovereign, native Hawaiian entity upon its recognition by the United States government and the State of Hawaii" (Glauberman 1993).

The bill calls for Kaho'olawe and its surrounding waters to be set aside as an island reserve with a commission to oversee its management. The reseve will extend out three miles from the shores of Kaho'olawe. The reserve shall be used solely for "preserving and practicing all rights customarily and traditionally excercised for cultural, spiritual and subsistence practices" and for "preservation and protection of its archaeological, historical, and environmental resources, rehabilitation, revegetation, habitat restoration and preservation and education."

The commission in charge of overseeing the management of Kaho'olawe consist of five members: one nominated by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, one a trustee or representative from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, one the Maui County planning director, one the chairman of the state Department of Land and Natural Resources, and one named by the governor from among nominations made by Native Hawaiian organizations. The commission will establish the rules governing the island (Dunford 1993).

"The bill goes beyond the goal of giving special status to the island as a place to preserve traditional Hawaiian rights and practices. The transfer clause sets another precedent for Hawaiian sovereignty in that this bill commits the state of Hawai'i to repatriating a first significant portion of the government lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i to a re-established Hawaiian nation" (Emmett Aluli, quoted in Glauberman 1993).

This development is a remarkable admission – on the same time as being a money and trouble saving "good deed" – at the part of the state and federal government. Much is unsettled and many questions remain unanswered, such as who exactly will recieve the island and who is responsible for the clean-up of all the military waste. The healing of the island will take a lot of dedication, consistent work – and money.

The editors

Mele O Kaho'olawe
Song of Kaho'olawe

Aloha ku'u moku	Love for my island
O Kaho'olawe	Kaho'olawe
Mai kinohi kou inoa	From the beginning your name
O Kanaloaw	as Kanaloa
Kohemalamalama	You are the Southern beacon
Lau kanaka 'ole	Barren and without population
Hiki mai nā pua	Until you were invaded by nine young men
E ho'omalu mai	And they granted you peace
Alu like kākou	Let us band together
Lāhui Hawai'i	The Hawaiian Kingdom
Mai ka lā hiki mai	From sun up
I ka lā kau a'e	to sun down
Kūpa'a a hahai	Stand together and follow
Hō'ikaika nā kānaka	Be strong young people
Kau li'i mākou	We are but a few in number
Nui ke aloha no ka 'āina	but our love for the land is *unlimited*
Hanohano nā pua	Popular is the young people
O Hawai'i nei	of Hawai'i nei
No ke kaua kauholo	For the civil strife they caused
Me ka aupuni	against the government
Pa'apū ka mana'o	together in one thought
No ka pono o ka 'āina	to bring prosperity to the land
Imua nā pua	Forward young people
Lanakila Kaho'lawe	and bring salvation to *Kaho'olawe*

Texts by Harry Mitchell

Anahola – Taro-Roots Practice Self-Determination

By Sondra Field-Grace

This is the story of a group of *kānaka maoli* (Indigenous Hawaiians) occupying beach front lands in Anahola, Kaua'i, for the past six years. It began with Native Hawaiian beneficiaries of a federal created trust, the Hawaiian Home Lands Trust, trying to receive their rights to the land and to practice economic and social self-sufficiency. Today it has evolved to sovereign *kānaka maoli* living on sovereign lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, no longer recognizing the jurisdiction of the state of Hawai'i nor the U.S. government.

We moved to Anahola Beach Park in 1986 because we were part of a Native Hawaiian organization that was seeking a license to manage a park that had been illegally conveyed to the county of Kaua'i by a governor's executive order in the 1950s.

The trust lands were made up of 200,000 acres set aside for Hawaiians of 50% or more blood quantum in 1920 through the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. By 1986 only 17% of this land had been awarded to the beneficiaries, with over 80% in the hands of non-Hawaiians and federal, state and county agencies. Today, in 1993, the fraud and mismanagement of this trust is an established fact, but at the time, the "powers that be" were doing business as usual and ignoring the plight of *kānaka maoli.*

While the question of ownership of the park was still in litigation in the federal district court (it lasted 13 years while the state argued "sovereign immunity"), we were able to keep the authorities off our back by arguing the jurisdictional question. In the beginning we were focusing on learning and asserting our rights under the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act from 1920, which, if applied correctly, could have gotten beneficiaries on their lands without interference from the state or counties. But as time went on we came to understand that the trust was set up to fail from the very beginning and that a trust is a Euro-American creation that is contrary to the Hawaiian Indigenous culture.

When Hawai'i became a state in 1959, the administration of the trust was put under the management of the state with certain federal oversight responsibilities. A Department of Hawaiian Homes Land was created under the state to administer the trust. We tried to receive a license from this department to manage the park and surrounding lands and to enter settlement negotiations on federal suit. After being ignored at every

attempt for five years, we realized that working within the system would only bring more failure. With 80% of the population in Hawai'i non-Hawaiian, the government will always serve the interests of the majority population.

While pursuing the legal avenues, our occupation had grown to twenty *kanaka maoli 'ohana* (families) living on the beach in a village. The housing situation on Kaua'i was impossible – with 60-70% of the homeless families being Native Hawaiians. We planted a large garden across the road and were fishing and living off the land. We were living the life of our ancestors. And this was affecting how we felt about ourselves and our culture. We were proud to be *kānaka maoli* and taking care of our *'āina* – we were studying our history and learning new words like "self-determination" and "sovereignty."

In 1989, the federal suit was settled: the land belonged to the Hawaiian Home Lands Trust, but the department could give the county a license to manage it for fifteen more years! We appeared in the federal court in Honolulu for the final hearing and submitted appropriate papers, but the judge refused to let us speak.

We returned to Kaua'i and decided to ignore the authorities and continue to manage the area as we saw fit. We continued to formulate our plans for a Hawaiian cultural and recreational area. We named our area *'Ili Noho Kai O Anahola* – the Anahola District by the Sea. Actually, *'ili* is an ancient word for a part of the land division, and we had come to realize, in restoring the Kingdom of Hawai'i, we wanted to include the traditional approach to land use and occupation. We had taken another step in self-determining our destiny.

By 1990, about three of the *'ohana* were committed to making long term plans and moving on them, so we moved across the road and build our homes. We would be the caretakers of the cultural center. We would gradually clear the beach front, as the other *'ohana* found places to live, and we would maintain the beach for temporary campers and for recreation, using only part of our area that includes approximately eleven acres. At the same time a *kupuna* (elder) taught us how to file a quit claim deed for the property based on the Constitution of 1840 of the Kingdom of Hawai'i which states that the lands of the Hawaiian Islands are "held in common by the chiefs and the common people." The laws for filing deeds go back to the statutes of the kingdom in 1857.

After filing the deeds in the Bureau of Conveyances, we proceeded to give notice to all authorities of our claim. We no longer accepted the Western imposed 50% blood quantum. Needless to say, the state of

Hawai'i could not allow the *kānaka maoli* to lay claim as heirs to the land. Deeds were the instrument of foreigners used in order to steal the land. In July, 1991, the state Department of Hawaiian Home Lands served notice on the *'ohana* to vacate and gave us two weeks to leave with threats of destruction of our homes. One home was a two story building with the office for the area, valued at $60,000.

We filed a Writ of Mandamus in the state supreme court and a complaint for temporary restaining order and permanent injunction in the federal district court. We flew to Honolulu for the hearings and were denied by both courts. We argued violation of our constitutional right to due process of law, as the authorities had refused us our day in civil court on the question of the *kanaka maoli* inherent and inalienable rights to the Crown and Government Lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Instead, the state attorney general sent special investigators, the local police and the National Guard to arrest us for simple trespass, and, while we were in jail, proceeded to destroy our homes and gardens and any improvements we had made on the land.

Fourteen *'ohana* and supporters stood tall that day in civil disobedience – we say with *aloha* – and fought the criminal charge based on the fact that the land was illegally conveyed after the armed invasion of 1893 by the "Provisional Government," by the Republic of Hawai'i in 1894, by the Resolution of Annexation with the United States in 1898, by the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, and finally by the Admissions Act of 1959, conveying the Crown and Government Lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, so-called "ceded lands," to the state of Hawai'i. We appealed the case to the state supreme court where the judge's decision stated, "We need not and choose not to address these complicated arguments." So much for justice.

Three days after the eviction, the National Guard left the area and we returned and set up camp. A few days later the state Attorney General's police came from Honolulu again to arrest us and charged us with simple trepass. We were released after six hours and returned again to the land. We had made the decision that no matter what the state does to us, we will build our cultural center. We have stated this before the legislature and to any authority that will listen. So a month after our arrest with the help of our friends we rebuilt a 24 ft. by 24 ft. structure for our *Hālau Ho'oponopono* (a gathering place to resolve differences), the center-piece for our cultural center.

We have been left alone by the state since – it now being January, 1993 – the 100th year of the U.S. armed invasion of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

The state did file a civil complaint of ejectment last year, and we do have a suit in the U.S. courts of appeals where we are suing the Governor, the Attorney General and the Chairwoman of the Hawaiian Homes Commission for arbitrary and conflicting application of the law in the destruction of our homes. But we have grown further in our understanding with the help of our *kūpuna* and have requested protection under international law. We have given notice to the state of Hawai'i, the county of Kaua'i, and the U.S. government, with copies to the United Nations, that the courts and any other officials of the above-mentioned governments are unlawfully asserting jurisdiction and are in violation of international law and of Indigenous Hawaiian custom and traditions pursuant to Article 73 of the United Nations Charter and to Federal Laws, 18 USC 1091 (a) on the crime of genocide.

We are asserting our suzerain authority over our lands by the formation of the 'Ohana Council of the Hawai'i Kingdom and will continue to govern ourselves until such a time as the Independent Nation of Hawai'i is reconstituted. We believe this is the correct way to practice self-determination and will not stop until the full inherent rights of the *kānaka maoli* are restored. We believe this is the only way to ensure the survival of our people and our culture. And we believe it is in the best interest of all the peoples of the World.

Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka 'Āina i Ka Pono.
(The sovereignty of the land is perpetuated by righteousness).

Note

Taro (not grass) is the life force of *kānaka maoli*.

Keep Moloka'i Moloka'i

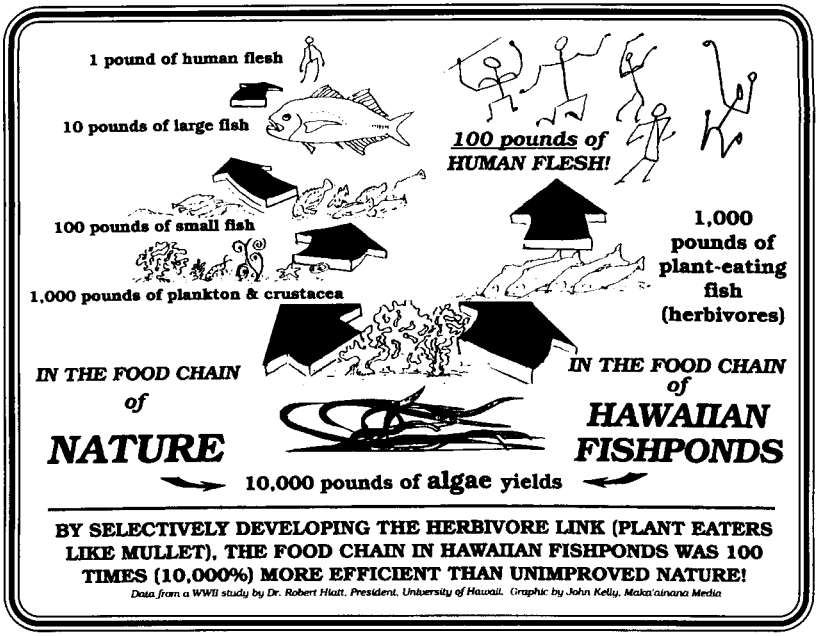
By Colette Machado

"A visit to Moloka'i is a step back in time [...]. The island has been touched only lightly upon by tourism and not at all by high-rise development. Just 37 miles long and 10 miles wide, Moloka'i is rugged and unspoiled, with miles of open space shared by a population of less than 7,000. [...] The lifestyle here is peaceful and unhurried."

These words from the tourist brochure, *Moloka'i Drive Guide,* owe their partial truth to twenty years of continuous active community efforts to protect the Hawaiian rights, the environment and to oppose "development," golf-courses, hotels, condominiums – the very things that the brochure procedes to promote. It is true that there are no stoplights and no cinema on Moloka'i and that the majority of the population are Indigenous Hawaiians. But the "peaceful and unhurried lifestyle" is marred by a high rate of unemployment and, like the rest of the indigenous population of the Islands, by critical health conditions.

Hawaiians want to keep Moloka'i Moloka'i and to better the living conditions for the people. The active community involvement is one of the strategies employed. Other initiatives are the Moloka'i Family Health Care Center and Na Pu'uwai, the island's promising Native Hawaiian Health Care System with the goal of raising the health status of the Native Hawaiian residents of Moloka'i and Lāna'i to the highest possible level and of encouraging the maximum participation of Native Hawaiians to reach this goal.

Na Pu'uwai has sponsored two research projects: the Na Pu'uwai Moloka'i Heart Study in 1985 and the Ho'oke 'Ai – Moloka'i Diet Study in 1987. The Moloka'i Heart study assessed cardiovascular risk factors in 257 Native Hawaiian adults from a Native Hawaiian homestead community on Moloka'i. The Moloka'i Diet Study demonstrated the blood lipid lowering effects of traditional Hawaiian diet in Native Hawaiians. The study has served as the model for current traditional diet programs, such as the Wai'anae Diet Program and the Waimea Diet Program. The results of these studies have had a major impact on the understanding and management of risk factors and cultural barriers affecting the health conditions of Native Hawaiians. The traditional Hawaiian diet had immediate and very convincing physical as well as emotional results.



Na Pu'uwai and the Moloka'i Family Health Care Center are institutions run by Hawaiians for Hawaiians, which is an important factor in their success. The staffs stress a holistic approach to health. Therefore, they also encourage revitalization of Hawaiian traditions, such as reopening of the fishponds, taro growing and *limu* production, because these skills provide people with healthy foods as well as jobs and cultural pride.

Ideas like these are basic in efforts to stop negative development all over the island and to open up access and use rights for Hawaiians. An illustrative example – and one of the more successful stories – is Pūko'o at Mana'e at the East End of Moloka'i.

Attempts to "develop" Mana'e have basically been unsuccessful due to actions taken during the years by local groups and organizations like Hui Alaloa, Aloha 'Āina O Moloka'i and Ka Leo O Mana'e.

The East End has long been called Moloka'i's "ice box" because of the many fishponds in the district. Hawaiians fish for the fat mullet, *akule, weke, papio* or *minini* and gather the *limu 'ele'ele, manawea, kohu* and *huluhuluwaena* as well as lobster, *'a'ama* and squid.

As Hawaiians, fishing and gathering from the ocean off the *kuleanas* has been a way of life for generations. The *kūpuna* taught where and how to fish according to the tides, moon phases, from season to season ... and

now Hawaiians are teaching their children. Fishing and gathering from the ocean feeds the families and helps to pay their bills.

As Peter Black Namakaeha said in 1961 when he was interviewed by the beloved *kupuna* and scholar, Mary Kawena Pukui, about Mana'e: "*I have everything. What more I want? No island beat Moloka'i. We have everything [...] whereas some islands you don't get everything. I live one of the best life.*" Sarah Nao'o also shared the same kind of thoughts with Mrs. Pukui in 1961 when she said, "*No constant visits to the store. This part of Moloka'i here, no trouble. Go searching at the beach here and you get pipipi, crab or 'ōhiki.* "And Sarah Ka'ai Kalima of Kaluaaha spoke of "*the abundance of food that could be gathered from the ocean along the Mana'e shoreline, such as the fragrant limu 'ele'ele, where the fresh water springs bubble up on shore and the 'alamihi and 'a'ama crabs.*"

An initiative to build 84 condominiums at Pūko'o was stopped in 1980 after 1½ year of research and dissemination of information done by Aloha 'Āina O Moloka'i concerning social impacts, historic sites, alternative land uses, and impacts on Moloka'i's low income residents. Aloha 'Āina O Moloka'i was formed in 1979, specifically to involve residents in decisions concerning land use and future development for Moloka'i.

A venture intending to bring 160 tourists a week to Pūko'o at Mana'e at Moloka'i's East End, to snorkel, scuba dive, windsurf and kayak, have recently been stopped after years of struggle against a tourist agency. In spite of opposition and denial of their applications by local, county and state agencies, the project would not have been stopped without a strong showing from the local people and Ka Leo O Mana'e (The Voice of Mana'e), a community supported organization, formed to promote and protect policies which will permit the lifestyles of East End residents to continue as they are or be further improved by their own choice.

The Hawaiians in Ka Leo O Mana'e believe that tourist activities along Mana'e shores will cut off local use of their fishing grounds:

"*The ocean will be crowded with boats and one-day junket tourists. We do not want Mana'e to get overcrowded like Lahaina or Waikīkī where the locals no longer go to the ocean to fish and gather. Already local fishermen have been chased away by tourists.*

We have only one Mana'e. And it is necessary in order to keep our ability to provide for our families from the ocean. It is necessary to keep our centuries old connection with our ancestors, coming down to us through traditional practices of fishing and gathering. A big part of the Hawaiian in us will die and be lost forever if we lose this connection."

At Pūko'o, thirty-two acres of ocean-front land, encompassing a 10-acre lagoon has now been transferred to Ke Kua'āina Hanauna Hou (The Next Generation of Rural Hawaiians), a non-profit Hawaiian organization. The idea is to prevent commercialization and preserve the land for practicing *aloha 'āina*. An educational program here increases awareness of land and natural-resource management and enhances skills in fishing, aquaculture and cultivation. This initiative is strengthened by an alternative school nearby, teaching skills as growing taro and raising mullet.

This is but one of the continuing local initiatives to fulfill the words of "the Voice of Moloka'i":

"Preserve Moloka'i for our children and their children's children."

the boat ramp and outside of virtually all of the houses, and all kinds of rubbish, in various colors and various states of decay. It is hot and dry. We have definitely left *haole* society and entered the Hawaiian world.

The village is strung out on the coast, the old wooden houses lining the road which continues all the way through the village and ends at the former schoolyard, where the school was destroyed by high surf in 1964. This area has been made a state park. Three *hālau* built with summer fund monies from the state give the place an air of tradition, and the state has also installed the village's only flush toilets, for the convenience of the tourists. Apart from that there is no running water in the village, nor electricity. Some houses have catchment tanks, where rainwater is collected via gutters running the length of the tin roofs. An older technique is to catch rainwater in barrels. Formerly there were two great stone catchment wells in the village where everyone could get water when they needed it. Today, when water runs low, villagers drive a half hour to the north to fill barrels at the communal pump just outside of the village Ho'okena on the main highway, 1000 feet above and 20 miles to the north. Still others pay to have water shipped down by truck. Life in Miloli'i is, in technical terms, as undeveloped or primitive as in an African village. Due to political changes, Miloli'i is now getting its own water system.

Most of the houses are two-storied but very few of the villagers use the upstairs. "We Hawaiians want to live on the ground", says one of the old ladies. She has made a *lānai* (veranda) for herself outside the house by covering the ground with a comfortable rug and moving out a sofa and chairs. In Miloli'i there is no clear boundary between inside and outside. Nature is benevolent and no need is felt to protect oneself from external dangers.

The inhabitants, about 200, belong almost entirely to 6 old, intermarrying families. Many of them live in extended families, with either her or his parents. M, A's granddaughter, married to P, had her first baby when she was 13. Today she is 28 and has two teenage daughters and an 11-year old son. Women start having babies at a very early age. Children are appreciated and there is always someone available to take care of the child if his mother is busy.

Miloli'i is as far away from *haole* society that one can get. To Go *holoholo* with the villagers, to other parts of the island, is to travel in another dimension. There are astonishingly few contacts with *haole* society. Contact is carefully and habitually avoided. Miloli'i is a world unto itself, to the temporary visitor a "Paradise on Earth". People turn inward, towards each other, and their social life is intense and dramatic. "They work hard

and they play hard." They seem often to totally ingore the world outside. They do not show up at meetings and do not answer important letters; too many other things to do.

We had expected, reflecting our own feelings, to find a negative attitude toward tourists, but such is not the case. When the villagers confront, or rather receive, visitors on their own turf, in their own community, they are most gracious and hospitable. Up to twenty rent-a-cars make their way down Miloli'i road each day. These visitors are unlike the usual variety insofar as they come in search of something more authentic, something beyond the plastic world of the resort. They are nature lovers, ecological minded and often side with the village against civilization. Miloli'i's congeniality is not wasted on them.

Unlike many Third World rural villages, the demographic pyramid of Miloli'i is quite intact; there are no missing age-groups off in the mines, plantations, or in lumpen-ghettos. If someone moves out, he most often returns when life gets rough on the outside. And this is invariably the case. The whole district of Kona has, until recently, been a refuge for Hawaiians. Lind (1984:15) talks about "the disproportionate number of Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians in Kona's population as compared with those on the Big Island or in the entire state". But the old Hawaiian villages, like Nāpō'opo'o, Ho'okena, Opihali etc. are more or less deserted and Miloli'i is the only one left. Decades ago, a University of Hawaii sociologist predicted the same destiny for all of them, but Miloli'i survived. And judging by its genealogies, it is a kind of imploded kin network that once extended south to Kapu'a and North to Nāpō'opo'o, but now has contracted to a strongly endogamous single village.

What is so good about Miloli'i? Why do they stay, why do they come back home? The immediate response to this question consists in the opposition between inside and outside. This is not an artefact of Hawaian culture, the kind of dualism that anthropologists love, but an active opposing of the world of the village to the modern world above. "Quiet" refers to feeling at ease in Miloli'i. The "fast" world out there, on the other hand, is the place where he suffers the frustrations of being low ranked, low payed and layed off in a world controlled by others. Miloli'i is truly an enclave of freedom, but also possessed of an egalitarian structure and values that make it difficult for a man who takes ordinary employment to accept his subordinate position.

Miloli'i as Representation

Miloli'i, as Hawaiians in general, has been imprisoned in the eyes of other beholders, from up the hill, the "developers", the retirees, even the anthropologists. It is advertised as the real Hawai'i by tourist brochures. Anthropologists, such as ourselves, have often done battle with Hawaiians in the name of an "authenticity" that they have monopolized as part of their own identity. Some years ago a then young anthropologist was dismayed on arriving at her fieldwork site in Ke'anae, Maui, the "last village" of that island, on discovering that the people did not conform to her model of what a traditional village ought to be like. She has on several occasions complained of the lack of authentic tradition among members of the Hawaiian movement, who continually invent new "traditions" that they take to be ancient. She does make a go of discovering the "real thing" in Ke'anae by studiously leaving *hapa haole* (half-White) residents out of her study, by avoiding all mention of some of the village resident's strong engagement in the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and in the Hawaiian movement in general, and by not mentioning a whole series of external threats to the village's existence including a hydro-electric station just above the village. Another anthropologist unknown to the professional public, wrote a Ph.D. thesis on Miloli'i with the endearing title, "*Aloha* and Hostility", a thesis that no one in the village had even heard about before we made a copy for them to see. In the first case anthropologists try hopelessly to confront natives on the question of who has the right to identify. In the second case, we have simple hit and run ethnography aimed to promote the aspiring student in his career. It is no mystery then that Hawaiians are often suspicious of anthropologists.

"For Hawaiians anthropologists in general are part of the colonizing horde because they seek to take away from us the power to define who and what we are, and how we should behave politically and culturally" (Trask 1991:163).

An anthropology that is not engaged in the world that it studies, that has only its own identity to defend is bound on a collision course in a world decolonizing, one where its former "objects" are engaged in identifying themselves, where the anthropologist can no longer speak or write "the other".

The Proposed Tourist Project

In the late eighties, the Big Island had lagged behind O'ahu and Maui in the development of its tourist industry. Among suggested explanations were the *relative* lack of attractive beaches and a selling image. On Big Island the visitor had been enticed, instead, to sightseeing of spectacular proportions; the island offers awesome views, the world's most active volcano from which red hot lava flows explosively into the sea, a snow capped peak and ski slopes overlooking the warmth of the Pacific, desert moonskapes and tropical waterfalls. The new Hyatt Waikoloa on the northwest (Kohala) coast was expected to be a turning point in the history of the island, since it was destined to create the "critical mass" necessary for a self-generating tourist expansion of a new kind. After the rise and partial fall of mass tourism in Waikīkī and then on the island of Maui, the industry has taken a turn toward luxury and nostalgia for a more aristocratic past. The new construction in the Kohala district of Hawai'i island was the first serious development in that direction. The vast Kohala slopes, once part of the largest private ranch in the United Startes have been subdivided into "gentleman ranches" for yuppies and the new resort on the coast below sports monorails and gondolas, postmodern Greek pilars and suites for $2500 a night. Similar developments are even occuring in Waikīkī where the oldest beach hotel, the Moana has been totally renovated in the old style to cater to turn of the century desires of the wealthy.[2]

The Big Island of Hawai'i, then, like Hawai'i generally, experienced a second phase of tourist expansion, characterized by the massive investment of Japanese capital and an emphasis on super-luxury. From the beginning of 1989 development plans spread to the southern part of the island. The most spectacular project was the so-called "Hawaiian Riviera" in Ka'ū. The developers filed a petition to the Land Use Commission (LUC) to have 2,420 acres reclassified from conservation to urban land and 900 acres from agricultural to urban land. During the spring of 1989 there were several public hearings on the matter. If realized it would be the largest single resort project in the state's history

The area of the planned resort lay on a stretch of barren lava in the Kahuku section of Ka'ū, surrounding Pōhue Bay near South Point, 5 miles below the Mamalahoa Highway, the main route that circles the island. Ka'ū is a very sparsely populated district of the island of Hawai'i, with a population of only 4,700 inhabitants (1987), and poorly developed. Its

area, on the other hand, is larger than the whole island of O'ahu. People make their living from the sugar industry (Brewer Agribusiness), macadamia nut farms, farming and fishing. Some commute to other parts of the Island where they can find jobs. There is also marijuana in the area, whose extent, for obvious reasons, is difficult to assess. The cultivation of marijuana is sometimes called "the state's biggest industry" with an estimated value of 10 billion dollars annually, compared to the 7 billion of the tourist industry (*West Hawai'i Today* 7/3 89). 1 in 7 residents of Big Island is supposedly involved in the growing and traficking of marijuana (15,000 of a total population of 90,000) (*Tribune-Herald* 24/1 89). According to Big Island police, these figures are, however, much too high. On the other hand, it is common knowledge that even the police grow and sell the valuable weed.

"When they make a raid, its usually because they run out of grass themselves" (interview 1988).

Two developers were involved in "the Hawaiian Riviera", Charles Chidiac, a Lebanese, representing "Palace Development Corporation", (owning 3,127 acres) and Thomas Bodden, a *haole* realtor from Maui, for "Hawai'i Ka'ū Aina" (17,489 acres). Two separate resort areas were planned. Chidiac planned to build "Hawaii Palace Resort", with two "ultra luxury hotels" and a 400-slip marina. His stated ambition was to imitate the European Riviera, i.e. to create an atmosphere of waterfront luxury and sophisticated culture. On several occasions he announced that his resort would attract the European jet set, including the more pleasure-seeking members of the royalties. In an interview published in March 1989 he revealed plans to sell 550 residential condominiums, the potential clients of which would be among others, Saudi-Arabian royalty, royalty of Europe and the European jet set (*Hon.Adv.* 11/3 89). The other complex, "Hawaii Ka'ū Aina Resort", would include three hotels of a more modest, though still luxury, standard. Its style would be an imitation of "old Hawai'i". The entire complex was to be painted royal Hawaiian pink.

The land area of the "Hawaiian Riviera", including both resorts, would be 2,300 acres, which is four times larger than Waikīkī, was planned to contain 3000 hotel rooms and 930 resort homes. With these near 4000 units, it would be bigger than both Mauna Kea, Moana Lani and Hyatt Waikoloa, in Kohala, currently the largest resort area on the island. The project also included a regional airport and an 800 acre support community, primarily for employees, a cruise ship dock and facilities for polo, golf and tennis.

The Events of the Spring of 1989

Local Response

It is state policy in Hawai'i that all large scale construction projects implying changes and therefore reclassification of land use be cleared by the Land Use Commission which was established in 1961 to implement the Land Use Law, the first statewide zoning measure in the country. The law and commission were a response to the speculative subdividing that was occuring throughout state, not least on the island of Hawai'i where, lava fields, often in volcanic hazard zones, were being purchased,

"usually sight unseen, mostly by amateur speculators from Oahu and the U.S. mainland who had no intention of ever living there. From the standpoint of convential planning principles, these subdivisions were bizarre, to say the least" (Cooper & Daws 1985:86).

Cooper and Daws argue(1985) that the commission was rapidly integrated into the speculative economy rather than functioning as a safeguard against it. It might even be argued that by a simple act of rezoning, land values could be subject to wild speculation without any construction taking place at all, a point that is relevant to the conflict over the Riviera. In any case, the formal power of the commission and its susceptibility to changing political configurations renders it a considerable and not entirely predictable force in the poltics of the tourist economy.

Pa'a Pono O Miloli'i, the main representative organ of the little fishing community, held a meeting in mid January 1989 to discuss and inform people about the project. It was estimated by the president that between 20 and 30 people would show up at the first LUC hearing. The latter was held at The Hotel King Kamehameha in Kailua on the 27th of January. (There were three more hearings during the spring of 89). We were therefore surprised to find at least 200 people in the room and an atmosphere of excited mass movement. People were there to express their support for the project. Most of them were from Ka'ū and had been bussed to Kailua by Chidiac. Pink ribbons, meaning "for the Riviera" and signifying "free lunch" in the Hotel restaurant, were handed out at a desk just outside the room.

The hearing was described in the following way by the local newspaper:

"Citing job concerns and the economic fate of Ka'u, public testimony was overwhelmingly in favor of the proposed Hawaiian Riviera Resort Friday

as that project came before the state Land Use Commission in the first of several public hearings on the Ka'u development project.

More than 200 people filled the hearing room of the Hotel King Kamehameha as the hearing opened and nearly 50 provided testimony in support of the project. The testimony, which lasted throughout the day, was provided largely by residents of Ka'u and South Kona, as well as business and union leaders. Additional support was lent to the proposed resort by several elected officials" (*West Hawai'i Today* 29/1 89).

The overwhelming majority of the testimonies (about 50) were thus in favor of the proposed resort. Another 450 Big Island residents signed and submitted a petition in support of the project. Their main argument was the lack of jobs and the dim future for the sugar industry in the area. Layoffs had been announced for March, according to several of the speakers, and the dread of a complete collapse of the sugar industry loomed large in the minds of the old plantation community of the district. They needed jobs, they wanted their children to be able to stay in Ka'ū, and they did not want to commute to North Kona or South Kohala. The "Hawaiian Riviera" was the solution to all their problems. That was the message. A Hawaiian woman, in her 50s, burst into tears just at start of her testimony, "I'm one of the workers being laid off in March" she cried, and a compassionate wave of empathy swept through the audience.

Immigrant mainland *haoles* expressed, in informal conversations at the hearings, their eager desire to have their life style changed through the resort. 'Now it is just dull, the resort will bring a lot of activities and amusements, there will be shops, bars and restaurants etc.' Any suggestion that Ka'ū's rural life style might be saved was greeted with contemptuous laughter.

Very few testimonies (5) were negative. They came from two main categories; *haoles*, who, for diverse reasons, wanted to maintain the rural life style of Ka'ū, and residents of Miloli'i. It was, however, made clear by the developers' attorneys that opinions differed even in Miloli'i. Thus, Gilbert Kahele, representing "Pa'a Pono O Miloli'i" was finally admitted as intervenor in the hearing proceedings, but was opposed by the developers on the grounds that he did not represent the entire village. The stated reason for his intervention was his concern for the impact of the proposed marina on the fishing economy of Miloli'i. Thus, he was not generally opposed to the project, only to the marina.

After the first hearing an abundance of "letters to the editor" appeared in local newspapers, all divulging the same story.

"Are we not important here in Ka'u? We will be needing jobs real soon. Families like mine will suffer when we don't have backups. So, we need the Hawaiian Riviera Resort, as a backup for survival" (*Hilo Tribune-Herald* 29/1 89).

"It will be great to have the resort providing more jobs since the sugar plantation is slowly closing" (*Star-Bull.* 27/1 89).

At about the same time curious stories surfaced relating that Ka'ū High School students had been pressured to write letters and to give testimonies in favour of the resort. According to one complaining student, the class was told to write a letter to the Commission either for or against, but the teacher only gave the students material supporting the project. They were also told that they would get an "A" if they gave a speech on the resort to the Commission. The student in question had handed over a copy of his speech to the counselor and got it back with the in-no-uncertain-terms suggestion that he change it (*West Hawai'i Today* 27/1 89).

The Position of State and County

The most significant opposition came not from any local group but from the state and county themselves. After the hearing in January the newspaper said: "(Project) draws local backing but a chill from officialdom" (*Star-Bull.* 27/1 89). The state (Office of State Planning) opposed the project and recommended denial, citing infrastructure concerns and geological hazards. The risk of volcanic eruptions and geological disturbances is very high. In fact the designated zone is classified in the "most likely" category with respect to such hazards. The county (Hawaiian County Planning Department) had joined the state in its evaluation but were still open to discussions with the developers. It was declared that they could change their minds if certain requirements were met. "For every 1 million dollars spent of public money, the resort will generate 3-5 million dollars" (*Star-Bull.* 27/1 89) was the developers' message. For the county, this equation would have to be analyzed thoroughly before it was accepted.

"The Hawaii County Council is being faced with an enigma typified by the Hawaiian Riviera Resort proposal. It must regard development as a potential source of jobs, but it must weigh that benefit with the costs to the county in operating expenses, capital improvement projects and the fiscal and social impacts on the surrounding community" (*West Hawai'i Today* 17/3 89).

According to representatives of the Hawai'i County Council, the Hawaiian Riviera was the first development project where immediate and long-term impacts had been analyzed. "Prior to this we had seen no methodology, just talk of impact fees. But now we see the department (Planning Department) doing its homework and working up estimates of costs and impacts, from roads to government operating costs" (Chairman Russell Kokubun, quoted in op. cit.).

Aside from the question of geological hazards, the major problem from the state's point of view was that the proposed resort was situated in an area devoid of basic infrastructure. At the hearing on March 22 the infrastructure costs were estimated at 185 million dollars – 70 million for water, roadways, waste disposal and drainage and 115-120 for marina, regional airport and cruise ship mooring. If desalinization of the drinking water were to be required the figure could be nearly 200 million dollars (*West Hawai'i Today* 23/3 89). The developers were willing to participate in needed infrastructure to the extent of 4.18 million dollars.

The representative of The Office of State Planning demonstrated concern for what was called "spot development". Is it not true that it "violates basic principles"? There are no urban areas in the vicinity, there is no "supporting population base". It will be necessary to import people. He queried the planning consultant how many workers will, in fact, be laid off in the sugar industry? Are they less than 200? The project would require between 6000 and 20,000 people. It might be necessary, as had been suggested in the press, to import workers from Mexico and the Philippines. What would be the impact on social life, what about economic impacts, i.e., land values and property taxes?[3]

The developers repeated that they were willing to contribute money to road improvements, fire station, police station, solid waste disposal, medical facilities etc. They came up with the slogan "our fair share" but seemed rather vague about how far their committment would go. Planner Jim Bell told the newspaper, "We have been working with the county and state on an almost a day-to-day basis to work out Hawaiian Riviera's fair share of meeting impacts ahead. We look at this as a partnership and not an adversary situation, and want to pay our fair share."

The Response from Miloli'i

The village of Miloli'i located just north of the proposed billion dollar project immediately became embroiled in what was to become, in the end, an enormous scam. As in all such cases, outside operators did what they could to buy off significant members of the local community.

The external pressure of potential development penetrated the life of the village. In the context of this analysis we limit ourselves to three significant events. The first was one resident's unconditional support of the project from the very beginning. Her view was that the people of Miloli'i need jobs and development and that the Hawaiian Riviera would change the whole area for the better. In an newspaper interview published in 1988 she claimed that the villagers only get a third of their income from fishing. "Other income comes from work at a nearby macadamia nut plantation, from welfare and from growing marijuana". Since the police are constantly patrolling the area for drugs, often by helicopter and often at night, and are known for their harassing techniques, her words provoked an irate reaction from the villagers. It was openly claimed that this person was on the payroll of the developers.

The second event was the split in the Miloli'i volleyball team, renowned as one of the best on the island, after the coach's declaration that the players had to support the Riviera in order to play for the team, since Chidiac had become its sponsor. The payrolled supporter renamed the team and new showy and clearly expensive uniforms were ordered. This incident was reported in the local newpaper igniting a village scandal. Under the title "Resort project splits village volleyball team" the whole story was related ending with the formation of a second team coached by a former star *(Star-Bull.* 11/3 89).

Third and last was a letter to the editor by the principal leader of the majority opposed to the resort on March 3:

"Most people in Miloli'i do not support the Riviera Resort in Ka'u. Those know-everything letter writers should come down here and talk to us before writing those things. They should also come look at the 1926 Ho'opuloa Lava Flow before saying that can't happen to Riviera. All our houses used to be where that lava is now.

And what is happening to our Miloli'i Volleyball team? Everybody has to tell whether they support Riviera or not. If you don't, you cannot play on the team anymore. Also you are supposed to go testify in favor of the resort when they call you. You know, for all these years we only needed one volleyball team in Miloli'i and the main thing was you know how to play. Now it looks like we have two teams, one for Riviera and one against it.

We never had these kinds of problems before this man showed up with his big plans and throwing his money around and promising to make us all rich. We all used to be one 'ohana and happy with the fish we could catch. If that marina happens we are going to to lose our fishing and all his money

won't be able to bring the fish back. If the hotel does not work out, we will have nothing left but thoughts of how happy we once were, even without much money.

Gov. Waihe'e, please don't let this happen to Miloli'i. This is the last Hawaiian fishing village in the whole world, so we have no place left to go after this is ruined" (*West Hawai'i Today* 3/3 89).

Positions and Tactics

The confrontation between the village of Miloli'i and the developer is a confrontation between a certain kind of capitalist intervention and a life strategy centered around village survival. The capitalist strategy is, as we shall see, not about development in the ordinary sense but about making money into more money, i.e. about speculative accumulation. The latter has been the major form of development in Hawai'i since the 60s.

The Strategy of Speculative Capital: "Development"

Development in the economic literature usually refers to an integrated process of productive growth, a process whereby capital is invested in infrastructural projects of an industrial kind in a process of real accumulation that transforms an entire economy by numerous feedback processes that ensure simultaneous or serial growth in a number of different sectors. The use of the term development in the real estate and tourist sectors refers to a different sort of phenomenon, the transformation of space into transient or permanent residences. But the latter is only the tip of an iceberg whose real driving force is the increase of land values. Developers deal with at most, building, and at least land speculation. The project represented by Chidiac is an example of the latter, an attempt to raise the value of land by a process of rezoning that would increase its market value tenfold or more. This value might then be used pyramid fashion to obtain the capital needed to build the planned hotel complex, or the entire land area might be subdivided and sold off to smaller developers. An increase of value from an original $20 million to $250 or $300 million is purely speculative. This is an extreme version of the kind of real estate speculation that has been occuring in the islands for years, driving up tax rates, and all other costs and marginalizing those whose incomes did not increase accordingly, especially Hawaiians.

Chidiac himself has an unclear background. Kinship connections with the ruling elite of Lebanon, numerous financial corporations in the United

States whose activities are not clear either, numerous scandals and court cases regarding the relation between his personal economy and his various corporations: Purported arms merchant and self-declared industrial developer and socialist, all amounting to enormous cloud of confusion regarding the real Mr. Chidiac, alias El Chidiac.

The general strategy of operators such as this is to create money from nothing, by blowing up enormous credit bubbles and selling off or escaping before the crunch. The land on which the resort was to be built was supposed to have been worth $10,000,000 on purchase, but it does not appear that Chidiac ever spent more than $2,500,000. The mushrooming of value is the basis of accumulation and in the case of rift zone lava fields, this is pure speculation. In 1987, an add had already appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, offering the land for a mere $54,000,000. Whether or not such a strategy can work depends on the footwork involved, the specific tactics of making fantastic speculation appear as solid investment.

The Populist Tactics of the Developer: The Con Game

The two developers, Chidiac and Bodden, bought cheap land in Ka'ū over a ten year period. Today, before rezoning, it is worth approximately 20 million dollars (Palace Development 8,9 and Hawaii Ka'ū Aina 10 million), and will increase ten fold if they succeed in having it reclassified to urban. The hearing in March revealed plans of the developers to use that sum to secure a 680 to 700 million dollar loan for the project (*West Hawai'i Today* 24/3 89).

They had opponents as well as allies in the struggle to get their needed rezoning and they have, according to several commentators, played their cards cleverly.

Their main opponents, officially, were the representatives of the state and county who were against what is called "spot development" because it requires heavy infrastructure investments from their side. That money could be better used in areas where resort development was already well established. Formerly developers did not have to worry about this aspect of their plans. They bought land and they obtained financing. The state and county did the rest. But after several decades of tourist development, the state and county were more reluctant. Their demands on the developer had toughened.

In this situation the developer's strategy has been twofold (we will in the following refer only to Chidiac since Bodden has been a less active partner). First, he has, adhering to populist ideology, endeavored to present

his project as a people's project. The people of Ka'ū need jobs and development. *They* want the resort, he only makes it possible. He makes their dreams come true. The developer and the people have common goals and are in it together. "*I'm doing this for my own children and for the people of Ka'u.*"

He spoke about how sorry he felt for the people of Ka'ū who had been bereaved of the fruits of modern existence, and that he had developed "a love for them and their communities." Besides, it was "progress" and who can stop progress? He described himself as a *"developer with socialist tendecies who believes in peoples' projects"* (*West Hawai'i Today* 23/3 89).

"We are not the enemy, but friends of the people and the state" (*West Hawai'i Today* 26/3 89).

Here we see his picture of an arena with three parties – himself/the developer, the people and the state, whose interrelationships are harmonious, characterized by common interests and cooperation. One might, on the other hand, register surprise at his use of the word "socialist" and his reference to people and state as if they were the same entity. This might reflect his Middle Eastern or European background, since it is questionable whether such concepts carry more than a negative connotation for Americans, even if they belong to oppressed minorities and indigenous populations. In any case, his background can explain it all away, and the meaning that he wishes to convey is clear. "I am one of you guys, a man of the people who wants the best for my children, just like you . . . and just because I have money I want to share it with you."

From the very start, he gave people the impression that the developers were going to do everything, build roads, medical facilities, police and fire stations, a school, and that they would supply their own energy plant for their private use and by implication to help the local community as well. His very style was imbued with a magnanimity that one does not expect from the kind of businessman that deals in tourism, nor, for that matter, from any rational businessman. And it quickly generated a mythology that he would give all of his millions away were it not for his financial advisors (see the case of volleyball coach, below). And the myth of his millions was, of course, implied in his activities. No one questioned whether or not he actually had the $700,000,000 to build the resort.

Only in the course of the hearings did it become evident that his generosity had its limits. The concept of "fair share" of the costs for infrastructure, not unknown to previous development projects, became the order of the day. And how much is a "fair share?" In an interview in March,

Chidiac revealed that he felt badly treated by the county. Hawai'i "has a very bad reputation for investment because of the type of bureaucracy here", he said. "Developers are not Nazis; we are not the Second [a misprint?] Reich" (*West Hawai'i Today* 26/3 89). He also attacked the politicians for not really being the representatives of the people; "are they feudal lords instead of civil servants?" Apparently he regarded himself as more close to "the people". It was obvious that he felt frustrated about all the compromises he had to take. In an interview in March he declared that he found the roads in the area "charming" and would like to keep them in their present conditions. The roads in southern France and Spain are much worse, he said, and they are "carrying 65 million tourists annually through the area" (sic).

Chidiac's most important relationship was, of course, to the state and the county, as his whole project could be turned down. The people of Ka'ū were important primarily for how they could be used, as a weapon, in this relationship or conflict. It was much more difficult for state and county to go against the demands of their own population.

In an interview, Chidiac said,

"I am a political animal. An intelligent politician recognizes the roots of his strength are the people, which is why I started with the people. That way, we can address the state and county as 'We the people' not 'We the developer'."

Long before the first hearing, he, or the people working for him, started a massive million dollar campaign to influence the residents of Ka'ū. Their representatives

"began making the rounds of Ka'u's scattered towns nearly two years ago, holding public meetings, distributing fact sheets, answering questions. They gave presentations in the schools, donated to Ka'u High School's science fair and set up a perpetual $500 scholarship for graduates. Honolulu-based Patti Cook & Associates, handling the Riviera's public relations, peppered residents' mailboxes with literature, including copies of The Kona News, *a local tabloid, featuring a front-page 'open letter' favoring the resort"* (*Hawai'i Investor* May 89).

By the time the first hearing was called the developers had a small army of true believers, members of a social movement, giving testimonies and writing letters to the editor in favor of the project. Letters to the editor were

not always written by those who signed them but were, apparently, produced more centrally. But that does not mean that the ideas expressed were not embraced by those who so graciously lent their names to the developer. As Susan Essoyan pointed out, in her article in *Hawai'i Investor*, "there is no doubt that the proposed Hawaiian Riviera has come to symbolize hope for many residents of economically depressed Ka'ū" even if "the outpouring seems orchestrated". And there is no doubt that many South Kona residents supported the Hawaiian Riviera and looked to Chidiac as a kind of Levantine Santa Claus.

The success of the developers' tactics owed a great deal to the nature of the Ka'ū population itself. The major social categories in the district are; sugar and macadamia nut plantation workers, relatively young middle and lower middle class Whites from the mainland and Alaska, and retired middle class Whites from the above areas. There is also a population of older Hawaiian families, some with agricultural land and/or who are fishermen. The plantation workers have, says one of the Miloli'i villagers, a "plantation mentality", meaning that they are already "made workers" who could as likely as not replace one boss with another. The largest concentration of people in Ka'ū is Ocean View, right on the border of South Kona. This community consists of two very different social types – retired middleclass people from the mainland who would have loved to live in Waikīkī if they could afford it and a mixed group of younger and middle-aged *haoles*, hippie in appearance, if more hardened, and living off the land, often by means of large scale marijuana production, often in possession of pit bulls, booby traps and automatic weapons. The first have bought land and built homes in Ka'ū because they could not afford to live anywhere else in the islands. As far as they are concerned the resort would bring only good things – and besides, the value of their land would increase enabling them, perhaps to sell and move to a more respectable community. Since they are immigrants they have no attachment to the landscape. For Hawaiians, black lava can be very beautiful but for the bored, rootless *haole* woman it has no value at all. "I'd rather lay my eyes on a green than on dull, black lava", said one resident in a discussion about the danger of Ka'ū being taken over by golf courses.

The tactics employed against Miloli'i were, at first, very similar. In 1988 Chidiac descended to the village with his Madison Avenue swat team of associates, for a picnic with beer, steaks and smoked salmon and sandwiches. His purpose was to inform the residents about the project. In spite of its size, Miloli'i had to be taken into account, both by the state and county and by the developers. To start with, he won or bought two residents

to his cause. There were constant rumours about both of them receiving money from Chidiac. As in Ka'ū, such people were supposed to clear the ground for the project. These two were chosen because they were the most easily accessible. Their marginal position in Miloli'i implied that they were already dependent on relations to the outside world in order to maintain their positions in the village. As we shall see, these allies were not sufficient.[4]

Chidiac found that Miloli'i was a harder nut to crack than he had expected. There was strong opposition, and he even admitted at one point that, "If I were living here, I would oppose the project like you." (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*). Following even more frustrating state hearings, he expressed his discontent with having to be concerned about Miloli'i.

"You work in Miloli'i, how interesting! Do you find any pure breeds down there? Aren't they all very mixed racially?"

Miloli'i, in other words, has no right to oppose the development, or rather, the state and county should not take the villager's opinions into consideration. They are not real Hawaiians in any case. They are by implication, but in the explicit language of the Lebanese developer, "halfbreeds".

Breeding and Culture

Desperate to mock and deride the people of Miloli'i that dared to openly oppose his grand scam, Chidiac lowered himself to insinuating that the people of Miloli'i are not "pure breed".

A, one of the village matriarchs with 14 children, over 50 grandchildren and well over 50 great grandchildren, was born by a Hawaiian mother and a Chinese father. She has no memory of her father, however, since he disappeared early in her life. He went back to China. "Maybe he had family over there" is A's guess. Her mother married a Hawaiian and A was, thus, brought up in a fully Hawaiian family. Her Chinese "blood" does not make her less Hawaiian, only thinner than most Hawaiian ladies. When she was 16 she met W and bore 10 children by him before he was lost at sea between Honolulu and Miloli'i. W's father was Japanese. His Hawaiian mother called her baby "W" but her Japanese lover left her and the islands before she even gave birth. She *hānai'd*, gave her son in adoption, to her sister, and W was brought up in a Hawaiian family without any influence other than genetic, from his Asian father. This quite common situation dictates against the assumption of multicultural mix.

Capitalist Intervention and Local Life

Capitalist intervention consists in the introduction of a new economy and new conditions of existence from above. Such intervention is acceptable for the local population only where very definite sets of conditions prevail. We must first consider the case of the "empty arena", which is the classical situation for the developer. He has so many thousand of empty acres and feels free to do what he likes with them. Where this is also the perception of the local population there are no conflicts. This was indeed the case in the early years of tourist construction which only came under fire when increases in pollution, decreases in available agricultural water, urban congestion and crime reached a certain threshold of intolerance. Where conditions are perceived in terms of relative deprivation, any "development" may appear as improvement. This is especially so for workers acculturated into an identity in which their psychological as well as their economic welfare is at stake. This may be especially true of plantation workers who are socialized into a paternalistic hierarchy. The Hawaiian sugar industry has been the source of employment for several generations of immigrant workers, mainly of Filipino ancestry. As it now faces what may prove to be a terminal crisis, local employees face a desperate situation where the paternalistic style of the developers has been enormously successful, by offering jobs and a new life and a life for their children, schools, hospitals, new housing and especially the personal investment of "I'm doing this for the people of Ka'ū and *my children*". In terms of the landscape and its infrastructure, perceptions may vary widely. Chidiac's interpretation of Miloli'i's life style is one of underdeveloped slum where people are in need of employment as well as a modernized life style. "You must be bored down there," he said to one villager, "What can you do in the nights except count the stars. I'll build a spectacular restaurant for you." Retired *haoles* in Ka'ū would certainly concur, as they would love to have more amusements, bars, shops, restaurants, more visitors to look at, better roads, medical facilities etc. So why should it not be valid for a "backward" place like Miloli'i? It might be argued that Miloli'i is in need of both a facelift and jobs. The majority of the villagers do not *need* jobs in the sense that they do not experience such a need. It is not part of their identity, but a necessity that is foisted upon them by economic conditions.

In Miloli'i's case, the local arena is far from empty. The residents engage in different kinds of productive activities. They fish, some of them have land *mauka* where they practice agriculture. Some keep pigs and other farm animals. They hunt wild boar and goats in a very wide area, both

along the coast and upland. Other sources of income are salary, pension and welfare. Some women work at the MacFarms of Hawai'i, above the village, the largest Macadamia nut plantation in the world. There is a local store and a gas pump in the village.

Fishing and Village Identity

Exclusive specialized fishing is not a traditional life style but rather an effect of the loss of land *mauka* to ranchers, plantations and most recently to land developers. The ancient Hawaiian *ahupua'a* was a political division of land stretching from the mountains to the sea, and consisting three different ecological subsistence zones. At the coast there were several kinds of fishing, from elaborate systems of fishponds to deep sea fishing. In the middle zone, where the conditions for agriculture are the most favorable, taro, yams, sugar cane, breadfruit and bananas were cultivated. Further up there was wood, timber, bark for *tapa* cloth, *olonā* and other fibres for rope, and feathers. The *ahupua'a* organization was gradually dismembered throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, by the piecemeal sale of land, and by adverse posession. The vertical ecology of the Hawaiians was transformed into a horizontal ecology in which ranching, plantations, and forest exploitation (too a lesser extent) each took their exclusive position. The Hawaiians who had once used the vertical strips of land were now left with only the coast. The area was certainly known as a fishing village in the 19th century and perhaps earlier, but such specialization in the past did not preclude the larger subsistence economy to which we have referred. It is only in the recent period that the dependency on commercial fishing has become virtually complete. And since this desert-like coast has not been of much use for the usual Hawaiian big business, it has survived as an enclave until the present. But all that is, of course, changing.

Miloli'i was famous for its *'ōpelu* (makerel) in the past. Before World War II there was a boat that came regularly from Honolulu to exchange dried fish for rice, flour and other staples. No money changed hands. The fishermen also sold their fish to the Hilo market and traded in the uplands for taro and a variety of goods. There are a number of different kinds of fishing activities, reef fishing, octopus, shell fish, bottom fish and *'ahi* (yellow fin tuna).

Miloli'i fishermen have a great deal of knowledge of the sea, from the shell fish often colleceted by the women at night and day on the coast, to the reef fish, octopus and lobster, to the coastal fish such as the famed *'ōpelu*, to finally the deep sea fish such as tuna, marlin and bottom fish. Several

hundred meters outside the village are the famous *'ōpelu* or ocean mackerel. In the past the village was famous in the entire islands for its dried *'ōpelu*. These were traditionally caught by large nets hung from the side of outriggers. The fish have their special grounds, called *ko'a*, where they always gathered. There were formerly small shrines possessed by each family and dedicated to a specific *ko'a*. Here the fishermen left offerings from the catch in order to maintain the fertility of the sea. The method of procuring *'ōpelu*, which is closer to gathering than what we usually think of as fishing, is to "feed" the *ko'a* annually vegetable matter, ground taro, avocado. Chum (using fish bait) was never used due to its deleterious effects on the relation between the *'ōpelu* and the larger fish. Chumming in other areas may be one of the major causes of the depletion of the fish, and chumming by professional fishermen has become a threat to the village as well.

The problem for commercial fishermen is that their incomes have become insufficient and too irregular to be able to be a self-sustaining activity. This, in turn, is caused by an apparent decline in the total amount of fish, increasing costs, and the downward pressure of wholesale agents on local incomes.

The fishermen claim that they get less fish today than before. Experts from the University of Hawai'i held a meeting in Kona some years ago at which they explained the decrease as an effect of "the cycle of the water". As perceived by a local fisherman this explanation runs as follows:

"how the cycle of the water moves all over the world and how the thing come to our place, the cold weather, and the fish started to find areas where the water is warmer [...]. So, what happened was, because of the cold water was coming down to our area, the water was not warm any more, fish was going to find where the water has the temperature that is right for them, warmer water."

The experts say that such economic catastrophe is quite natural and even cyclical. It has happened before and will happen again. But the fishermen doubt it. Something like this happened six years ago, they say, but never before. On the contrary, they had a regular *'ōpelu* season, *ono* season etc. The *'ōpelu* season starting in December, used to last five to six months but now it is never more that two and a half months:

"Before we had good cycle all the way. For years we had that cycle, so we had 'ōpelu season, 'ahi season, ono season. [...] Everybody was catching.

[...] I was [...] leaving in the morning and come home at 10 o'clock in the morning and move my fish, eat lunch and go back out again. And I still can fill up my box again. [...] In one day I was catching about 7-8,000 pounds of 'ahi (yellow fin tuna), just 'ahi. So it was easy to catch a fish and fill up your box" (P).

Other explanations for the shrinking supply of fish in Miloli'i waters are the presence of a Japanese fishing fleet in the waters (that should be 200 miles away but can sometimes be seen from the coast) and the destruction of the fishing ground.

The latter phenomenon requires explanation. According to the fishing rules (*kapu* system) of Miloli'i, the *'ōpelu* must be fed with vegetables, never with chum.[5] This rule is not obeyed by fishermen from the outside. They go down to Miloli'i to fish and chum because it increases the immediate returns. But the chum attract bigger fish and the *'ōpelu* eventually abandon their ground. It is also claimed the *'ōpelu* overeat the chum and die from it. Further north along the coast, chumming has destroyed numerous fishing grounds and is a principle reason for the increase of outside fishermen in Miloli'i waters. The extent to which modern fishing strategies have wrought havoc with traditional ecological relations is evident when one considers that previously, fishing grounds were divided among the separate extended families, each having a fishing shrine linked to a specific ground. While such rights were not exclusive in the sense of private property, they clearly established a ordered relation between the community and its resource base.

The proposed 400 slip marina of the project would certainly increase the pressure on local fishing. More boats would visit the waters. And the waters outside of the planned resort are, according to the local fishermen, so rough that boats, especially fishing vessels, would have to travel north to Miloli'i.

The second problem, increasing costs, is a logical entailment of the first problem. The minimal requisites for commercial fishing are *gas, oil, ice, bait, fishing line, nets and other equipment.* With the type of boats used, their modern equipment and the lack of electricity in Miloli'i, which forces them to buy ice from outside, it is an economic catastrophe to confront a seemingly empty ocean. Their boats are of various sizes. With a big boat like R's (23 footer) it costs $80 in gas and $40 in ice for each trip. A smaller boat (13 feet) costs $40 in gas and $20 for ice. In order to clear basic costs one has to make a considerable catch.

"If you catch one 25-pound 'ahi for the day, it's not worth it. You are still in a hole already. And if you go out the next day and you no catch nothing, you gonna be more in a hole. So sometimes you gonna get one week, you gonna catch your fish, but you got to figure out for, I don't know, maybe two weeks you never catch" (P) .

The third problem is marketing. The fishermen of Miloli'i have a weak bargaining position and are often poorly paid by the wholesalers. The usual explanation offered is that the fish are "burnt" and thus of low quality. The latter concept refers to changes that occur in the flesh of the tuna (becoming pale and soft) that result from unsatisfactory handling by the fisherman. It is not easy to determine the immediate cause of burning. Fishermen claim that if the tuna is taken with great struggle, the strain effects the quality of the meat. The classical cause is the lack of proper icing. A marine specialist from the University of Hawai'i claims that if enough ice is used, so that the fish are kept near freezing, the fish can remain unburnt for long periods. It is even claimed that chilling burnt fish brings back their original qualities. The issue of burning is crucial due to the sashimi market for raw tuna leading to strict quality ranking and price differentiation. And there are serious practical problems as the fisherman has to rely on hauling ice from the outside in order to keep the fish cold until it is deposited with the wholesale agent. But burning is not a simple objective issue. According to the fishermen themselves, the talk about "burnt" fish is an attempt from the buyer's side to maximize his own profit. Often the fish is hauled to market and accepted as good, only to be declared burnt later on after the fish has been sold but before the fisherman has been paid his share.

The Miloli'i fisherman's income is inadequate to cover the costs of maintaining his family. While subsistence is no problem, financial limitations are extreme. No one can afford proper medical coverage. Several residents have diabetes and almost all of the middle-aged and elderly have high blood pressure, which entails substantial costs for constant medication. For those on welfare, this problem does not exist. S has to pay the full cost for her insulin and her syringes. When she and her husband had an accident some years ago, they turned to social security with a request for help. Right after the accident they were unable to work. Instead of receiving help, they were told to sell their cars. 'But how could we sell our cars', said S. Without a car we cannot fish at all.' When A's childbirth was approaching, her husband went out every day for months in advance in order to secure enough money for the hospital bill. If he were only engaging in normal commercial

fishing he would not have gone out nearly as much, but the impending hospital costs compelled him to take unusual risks.

Survival today depends on other sources of income. The wife may work at the macadamia nut plantation that lies above the village.[6] She is usually laid off for two or more months during the year, and even if she is entitled to "unemployment" during that time, it is considerably less than her regular salary. She earns about $6.50 per hour. There is no union at the company and the villagers have been rather uninterested in the past. Union leaders "they do mostly talk, they no care about you, they just like fill up their pockets", as one of the fishermen expresses it.

Welfare is another source of income. The fisherman himself can be on welfare if his estimated income is low enough, and his wife may also be entitled to it. There is, however, pressure on the women to take jobs, which means commuting, and some of them see child rearing as their only way of securing an income while remaining in the village.

It is, then, true, as J says, that only part of the villagers' incomes come from fishing. And in the logic of her world this ought to imply an immediate change of identity as well as strategy. Just as Chidiac, she views Miloli'i as simply underdeveloped. If fishing no longer works, why not abandon it as a lost cause. But fishing is, of course, more than an economic activity. It is the defining characteristic of a way of life and its subsistence core has been the successful core of a resistance to the larger society. S understands this when she exclaims hopelessly that her husband's first love is the sea, and that he becomes so grumpy when he can't get out. Fishing is then a cultural identity that cannot be exchanged for a better job.

Those households that have relied on commercial fishing and that have been forced into a mixture of wage labor, welfare and fishing are those that have been split by the assault of modern ideology and especially its representative in the village, J. One of the best fishermen in the village today drives and maintains machinery at the plantation and claims that he can never go back to full time fishing. He fishes on weekends, mostly for his own family's and relatives' consumption. Other's who have been unable to fish and become increasingly dependent on other sources of income have given in, in part, to the idea that it is all progress and inevitable.

"It's hard this place. I am not thinking 'bout us, I'm thinking about the future coming, the kids. What will happen to them? Like, da kine *(them, those, him), these haoles, they make their money already. They no worry about* da kine, *how they make of it."*

But there is a good deal of ambivalence in such attitudes, which is expressed in the immediate rallying to protect the village when under attack from the outside. While we were present, an unwarranted and highly illegal police raid on a local residence ignited a wave of solidarity that spilled over into the issue of the resort. Village identity took immediate precedence over the inevitability of progress. Very few of the fishermen actually support the proposed resort. They, at the very most, accept it as a necessity in the future, for their children. Their children, however, and the majority of the generation under 35, have a stronger Hawaiian identity than their parents and are more definitely against the resort. There are many who would like to get help, i.e. development funds to make their fishing economy functional in today's situation. There is a general desire among the majority to ensure that the technology of fishing is not forgotten and there are even plans to engage the elders, *kupunas*, to teach the younger generation in the arts of net making, specialized fishing, and the cultural discourse that lends meaning to the identity of Miloli'i.

The *Mauka/Makai* Solution

Miloli'i is called "the last Hawaiian fishing village" and it is a village that has been increasingly pressured by outside forces that have, as we have said, made commercial fishing a difficult if not impossible basis for survivial. The most successful economic strategy is the combination of *mauka* and *makai*, that is, upland agriculture and fishing at the coast.

In spite of the destruction of the ancient Hawaiian *ahupua'a* and the intrusion of ranching and plantation ownership in the uplands, some villagers have managed to maintain a skeleton form of the older system of land use where several ecological zones are exploited. A and her family with her Filipino husband L have been most successful in this endeavor. The *'ohana* fish in Miloli'i and maintain a farm in the uplands where they cultivate coffee and macadamia nuts for sale as well as a variety of fruits and vegetables: oranges, bananas, plantains, papaya, mountain apple, mango, lemons, guava, avocado, sweet potato and taro, for their own consumption. In order to maintain such a strategy it is necessary to have an active extended family organization (*'ohana*) that can take on responsibility for the different production zones and activities. Thus an adopted (*hānai*) granddaughter lives at the farm with her husband, A's sister's son's son. One of her sons has bought 7,3 acres beside his parents' farm and another son takes care of an "uncle's" 3 acres a little further away. W, a fisherman and owner of the village store, has land *mauka* but he has not

been able to fully develop it. He belongs to one of the large village families that has not lost all of its uplands to foreigners. While this *'ohana* ideal is practiced to its full extent by only one family, it plays a central role in many of the young villager's plans for the future.

In Handy and Pukui's "The Polynesian Family System in Ka'ū, Hawai'i" (1972) we find a general description of the *mauka-makai* economy:

"According to native phraseology", they say, "the land was spoken of as inland or upland (uka), and seaward (kai)". The family, or kin group, 'ohana, dwelt, "some inland or upland, and some near or on the shore". Land was divided into segments stretching from the coast up into the mountains. The larger sub-division of the moku (district) was called ahupua'a and this unit was then divided into smaller segments, 'ili. Some of these 'ili were discontinuous in the sense that "there was a piece near the sea and another disconnected piece inland" [...].The disconnected 'ili – the one ma uka was referred to as the 'umeke 'ai as it was that which filled the poi bowl: that is, taro was planted there" (1972:4).

Traditionally, taro was cultivated inland. Today coffee and macademia nuts are the main crops because of the income they both generate. And money is today a necessity for someone who wants to keep his land.

Coffee was introduced to Kona by *haoles* as early as the 1840s. It did best "in the same belt where the Hawaiians had been growing their upland taro". The "taro belt" became, effectively, the "coffee belt" (Kelly 1983:85). In 1899, the world market for coffee collapsed and the annexation resulted in a situation where Hawaiian coffee had to compete with Central and South American coffee that was duty-free on the mainland (Kelly 1983:87). These problems led to a reorganization of coffee production. Large-scale *haole* operations were replaced by Japanese family production. The Japanese came to Hawai'i as contract laborers to the sugar plantations and after their contracts expired they stayed and moved into coffee production. Many of the parents of the middle-aged generation in Miloli'i used to, and still do, pick coffee for others as a source of income.

Kona coffee is regarded as one of the best in the world and is often used in blends with lower quality beans. There are several cooperatives on Big Island. Generally the coffee economy is excellent due to the special niche that Kona beans occupy in the world market. But coffee as a monocrop is dangerous and it competes with alternative land uses, such as real estate and resort development. The latter, which offers higher immediate returns in

cash, weakens the general level of production as land disappears into the speculative sector and a new generation is forced into a new labor market dependent on resorts, condominiums, and hotels.

In the last century, the production unit was the *'ohana*, a word that stands for the extended family.[7]

"The fundamental unit in the social organization of the Hawaiians of Ka'u was the dispersed community of 'ohana, or relatives by blood, marriage and adoption, living some inland and some near the sea but concentrated geographically in and tied by ancestry, birth and sentiment to a particular locality which was termed the 'āina" (1972:2).

The social group, *'ohana*, lived off the land and sea by spreading out its members over a wider area, its *'āina*. There was an intimate relationship between the social group and the economy, and between the group and its land. Today, this type of economy involves, as in the old days, the whole *'ohana*. That is not the case when fishing is concerned. Some of the members of the *'ohana* live on the farm, as in the description by Handy and Pukui, while some of them go back and forth. When there is work to do on the farm, a work group, primarily of women, is mobilized from the different households in Miloli'i.

"When the nuts are ready to pick, we all go up, pick; we stay up there, maybe 2 weeks, then we go back down again. We just go back and forth. When the coffee is ready we go back up. When the coffee season is over we come back down. Right now the season is over. Then we go back up to shoot grass."

There is a clear advantage in doing it on a family basis. If the coffee grower has to hire pickers at $30 a bag, his own profit declines below the threshold of survival. He must, therefore, be a good picker himself, and for that he needs experience, and he must rely on help from family members who are willing to work for less. "Picking and maintaining are two different things" says J. Maintaining you can learn by asking other people, but picking is more difficult. You have to grow up with it. You need experience. J can pick 6 bags (80 to 100 lbs. each) a day if he starts early in the morning and continues until sunset.

Fishing, unlike the situation for commercially specialized fishermen, is, above all, a subsistence activity and, as such, it functions admirably. No matter how little money there is, there is always food to put on the table.

Trolling, spearing and the gathering of seafood like *opihi* and *ha'ukiuki* can be done with a minimum of effort and no cost. A calls herself "a farm lady" but emphasizes, at the same time, the importance of fishing for the survival of the group:

"To me it's the best place to live. You know, like me, you can get plenty of family here. If you live up mauka *or in town, with all your kids, and you no more work, how you going to live. Over here you live better. If you no lazy you go catch fish, enough, come home and cook. Only what you have to get is your rice, maybe* shoyu *(soy sauce), sugar, coffee, the main important things that you need for down here. The rest no need money."*

Subsistence fishing is an easy task in Miloli'i and fish plays a central role in daily consumption. The desire to exploit several ecological zones is generalized among Hawaiians. People in Hilo, with genealogical ties to Miloli'i, have applied for land in the latest phase of the state planned development and expansion of the village in order to be able to fish there. Families with one branch in Hilo and the other in Miloli'i regularly exchange with each other. During our stay in Miloli'i two different groups of relatives composed respectively of six and twelve members, came from Hilo to fish for a several days. They came and left in a caravan, a well organized expedition, loaded with coolers filled with fish.

A and her second husband, L, bought farm land in the beginning of the 60s from Hawaiian Homestead. A could not realize her dream to own a farm until she got married to L. W had no interest in farming. She moved with him from place to place, in Ka'ū and Puna, until they finally settled down in Miloli'i. But how come that L was interested? He was used to farming from his own family, A explains. To begin with, they leased the land for $80 a year, and after 5 years they were offered 8 acres for $1,400. After 6-7 years they had enough money to make the purchase. Other Hawaiians had done the same but they all eventually sold their lands to Filipinos. Today A is surrounded by Filipinos. In 1960 the tourist explosion had not yet arrived in Hawai'i and land prices were low. When discussing this alternative to specialized fishing with the fishermen themselves, they pointed to the fact that land values are too high today. They cannot afford it. Two members of A's *'ohana* have, however, managed to get hold of farm land recently. One of them bought with borrowed money and the other one takes care of farm land belonging to an "uncle".

A explains her interest in farming in terms of her upbringing. Her parents did it. "I was brought up that way. My parents planted all we need,

up and down, up and down, that's the way they lived." By exploiting two different ecological zones, there is always work to do.

"Yes, the old style was like that. You're not catching fish down at the beach, often time, they don't have fish, what you gonna do at home. You sit all day, next day you're waiting, no fish [...]. So, before, my parents, that's what we do, up and down, go fish, get some fish, come back up, most time farm."

Fishing and agriculture are easily combined because one activity need not intrude on the other. But why, then do the others not do it? A explains it with culture:

"They don't want, I think. They're not used to it. They were not brought up that way. Their parents only fish, fish."

She is happy that her children and grandchildren take after her.

"They see what I'm doing. They want to follow the way I go. I always advise them, you cannot depend on one way. If you don't catch fish and you get no more place up there, you can't do nothing. You just stay and wait for the fish."

A has 4 parcels of land, one in Miloli'i, the farm *mauka* Miloli'i and 2 in Opihali, to the north. She pays more than $400 a year for her farm land, $1400 for the lot in Miloli'i, over $300 for one of the lots in Opihali and over $400 for the other. The money from the farm is vigilantly withheld for land taxes. It is not used to live well, nor invested in productive enterprises. Instead, it is used to maintain the social group on its *'āina*.

It is easy to understand the present preoccupation of Hwaiians with land questions in light of the fact that they, as an ethnic group, have been deprived of their lands. But to many Hawaiians, land is something very different than it is to the White intruders. Without land of their own, Hawaiians live in a world that belongs to someone else. They can let themselves be incorporated into the *haole* society, as low-ranked and low-paid minority, but they can hardly feel at home. In order to maintain, or recreate, a Hawaiian world, they need land.

Specialized fishing is a capitalist economy even if it is fundamental to the cultural identity of the fisherman. Each fisherman is immediately and individually dependent on the market and his strategy is ultimately to make money from his profession. The combination of agriculture and fishing, in

the way it is practiced by A's *'ohana*, is not capitalistic. Its aim is to maintain the a set of ongoing social relations within an expanding kin group, by means of a genealogical branching process combined with an accumulation of land. At any one moment the "family" consists of a network of bilaterally related households with mixed commercial and subsistence farming in the uplands and a fishing base in Miloli'i. This is the form taken by the traditional subsistence life style in a highly commercialized and capitalized region. It is not a leftover from some pristine past but an active attempt to maintain a form of sociality by re-establishing, in altered conditions, its basic prerequisites.

The strongest opponents of the developers are found among those practicing the *mauka/makai* economy, or rather, lifestyle. It is they who have made most of the regional ecosystem and would have most to lose by inflation of land values and taxes and the incorporation of the area into the tourist economy. Their position expresses the core of Miloli'i's identity as an ongoing concern, a project external to the encroaching modern sector. It might be added here that this land use includes hunting in several ecological zones, for wild goat and pig. This activity is primarily that of the youth of the village and cross-cuts the different family positions discussed above. Those who engaged in such activities, however, were clearly opposed to the resort project, and with reason, since the hunting zone includes an area that stretches several miles south of Miloli'i and which would certainly be jeopardized by the project.

The Outcome of Conflict

The development scheme went to a series of hearings held by the Land Use Commission. In spite of the fact that the state representative was clearly against the development, the commission, in a last minute turn-around granted permission subject to meeting a number of infrastructural requirements. But the hearings had gone on for a year and the financial situation of Chidiac had suffered. It was discovered that he was deeply in debt to his own creditors to the tune of $40 million to one of his main creditors, the Bergen Bank (now Norske Bank). The commission required that he come up with the money before anything could start. After stalling, the project collapsed and Chidiac and his creditors and friends have become embroiled in numerous law suits as the financiers were forced to foreclose on thousands of acres of rift zone lava.

Miloli'i has not only survived, but has even been successful in getting funding for self-help housing, solar power and a desalination plant. New

houses have gone up and conditions have improved although there have been conflicts with state offices throughout. Miloli'i has had more luck than other Hawaiian communities, but it has had to struggle for every inch of control over its own conditions of existence, and the new housing has forced the residents to engage increasingly in the cash economy as they are now saddled with mortgages.

Miloli'i is a village that has for at least 100 years struggled to maintain its autonomy in a world dominated by an American economy and way of life. It has turned inward and struggled to keep its control over what it has left after more than a century of encroachments. The village represents, for many, a place of refuge where Hawaiians can live their own lives, and even, to some extent, live off the land and sea. The *mauka/makai* life style has been the most successful strategy for Hawaiians, and it has provided a sense of meaning and security even where it has been adapted to the larger economy. The persistence of this form of existence exemplifies a possible core for future survival, a core that integrates both the possibilities of economic survival and cultural meaning that shall be re-established in the years to come.

Notes

1. Some Hawaiians claim that these lazy *malihini* (newcomers) settled on Hawaiian land and asked if they could pick their fruit. Hawaiian generosity led to a gathering and selling of gifts of the land that allowed these people to settle down and expand their commercial operations.

2. It has been suggested that the 80s can be characterized by increasing disparity of wealth, a noticeable increase in investment in the unproductive sectors, such as real estate, and in speculation in general. This has been accompanied by an economy of "gentrification" (Zukin). The number of billionaires in the United States doubled in a single year, 1986. The richest 1% of the population possesses more wealth than the bottom 90%, i.e. all but 10% of the entire population. All of this has occured as part of a general stagnation in the West and is the sign of crisis rather than growth, a situation that has been exploited in popular publications such as Batra's *The Great Depression of 1990* (1988).

3. It is systematic that where tourist based development is successful, local population is forced out by escalating land values and their effect on both taxes and price levels in general.

4. J is related through her mother's sister to a family in the village, and functioned as school teacher for a number of years, a very powerful position. G married into the

village and was away from Hawai'i for a number of years in the military. We return to this in the following discussion.

5. *'Ōpelu* fishing was in some respects like gathering. There were special dwelling places or *ko'a* where the fish gathered and which had to be fed even if no fish were taken. Feeding the *ko'a* was a significant aspect of maintaining the supply of fish and was an important ritually reinforced part of the fishing process.

6. The plantation above Miloli'i, owned by the Australian multinational, MacFarms, is the largest macadamia nut plantation in the world, producing a considerable proportion of this most luxurious of products for the markets of the United States and Europe.

7. Handy and Pukui claim that the *'ohana* is an ancient Hawaiian institution, but this has been challenged by a number of authors, on the grounds that reference to such apparently corporate extended family groups appears first in the 19th century, following the collapse of the old order. There are clear parallels between the emergence of this kind of extended family corporation and similar kin groups in other parts of the world, referred to as the "closed corporate community"(Wolf 1957) and accounted for in terms of resistance to the larger colonial context. While the nature of the family group may have changed considerably in the last century, the distribution of economic activities between the coast and the upland and within the local territorial community is supported by archæological as well as early historical sources.

Look What Happened to Waikīkī

By John Kelly/Maka'āinana Media

"The verge of the shore was planted with a large grove of cocoanut palms, affording delightful shade to the scattered habitations of the natives. We pursued a pleasing path back into the plantation, which was nearly level and very extensive, and laid out with great neatness into little fields planted with taro, yams, sweet potatoes, and the cloth plant. These, in many cases, were divided by little banks on which grew the sugar cane and a species of Draecena [a ti plant] without the aid of much cultivation, and the whole was watered in a most ingenious manner by dividing the general stream into little aqueducts leading in various directions so as to supply the most distant fields at pleasure, and the soil seems to repay the labor and industry of these people by the luxuriancy of its production."

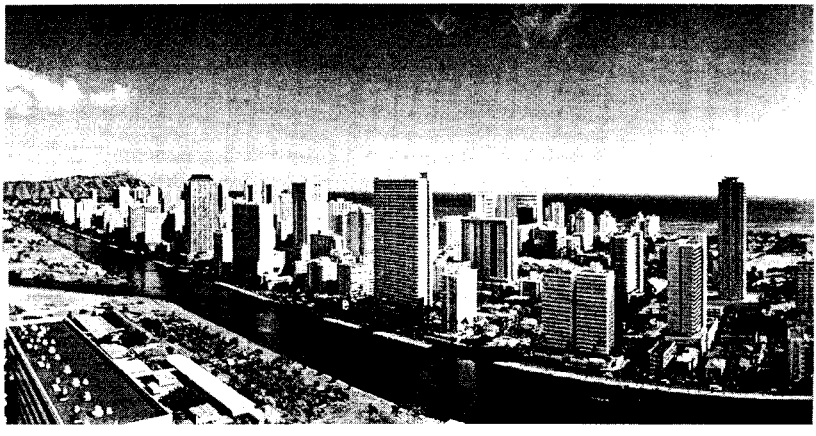
– Menzies 1792 (1920)

A drawing of Waikīkī-Honolulu Coast by G. H. Burgess, 1857.

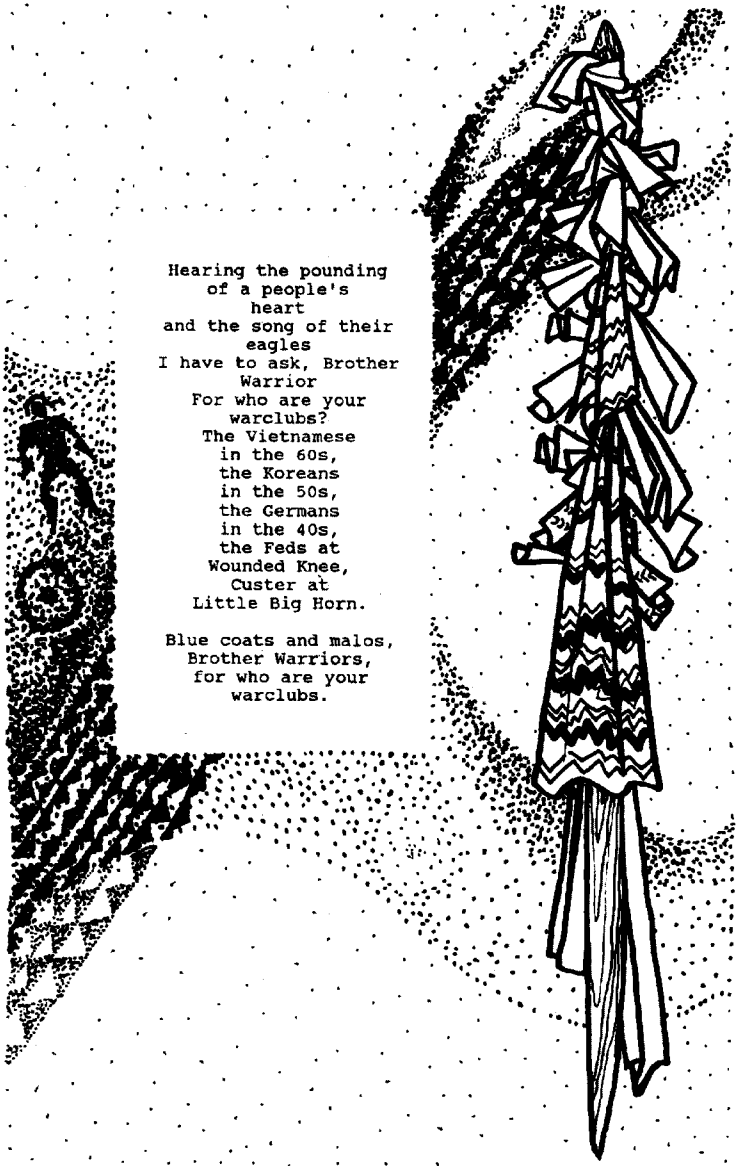
Before the 1920s, Waikīkī and Honolulu included highly productive agricultural wetlands covering over six square miles and 38 major fishponds. Created by skilled Native Hawaiians over 300 years earlier, the entire area was destroyed in less than ten years by Walter Dillingham & Co. that dug the two and a half miles long, 250 feet wide, and 28 feet deep Ala Wai canal to create coral spoils which they dumped into the fertile and productive Hawaiian taro gardens and fishponds. Dillingham's bookkeeper, L. H. Pinkham got appointed as governor of the territory, and this governor awarded the dredging contract to his former boss who made millions, destroying the Waikīkī land.

Today, 65% of the hotels are owned by Japanese investors. Kenji Osano, one of the world's richest men, bought the Royal Hawaiian, Sheraton, Surfrider, Moana, Princess Ka'iulani and others through Kyo-Ya Co. He was also biggest stockholder in Japan and Korea-Japan airlines. Now dead, Osana was convicted in Japan for taking a $12 million payoff from the U.S. Lockheed Corporation for purchase of jet planes. Very little of tourism's loot passes to Hawaiian hotel workers, for junk food, split shifts and poor promotions. Only 22% of Waikīkī hotel workers are locals...

The Ala Wai canal and Waikīkī today. Maka'āinana Media.



LOOKING ABROAD: HAWAI'I IN THE LARGER WORLD



Hearing the pounding
of a people's
heart
and the song of their
eagles
I have to ask, Brother
Warrior
For who are your
warclubs?
The Vietnamese
in the 60s,
the Koreans
in the 50s,
the Germans
in the 40s,
the Feds at
Wounded Knee,
Custer at
Little Big Horn.

Blue coats and malos,
Brother Warriors,
for who are your
warclubs.

Politics in the Pacific Islands

Imperialism and Native Self-Determination

By Haunani-Kay Trask

Aloha kākou. Aloha mai. Greetings from Hawai'i Nei. I meet you as a genealogical descendant of the Hawaiian islands of Maui and Kaua'i, but also as a member of a non-self-governing people, Native Hawaiians. My political status is that of an American-subjugated Native, a Polynesian member of the family of Pacific Islanders, and a participant in the pan-Pacific movement for decolonization which has been growing in our part of the world for the last twenty years.

For a dozen millennia, the vast Pacific has been home to a diverse humanity only recently grouped by Western scholars as Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia. Since the dawn of the nuclear age, however, the Pacific has come to be known primarily by its surrounding Rim countries (Asian, American and Soviet). For the First World, the Pacific archipelagoes are filled with tiny fantasy islands more reflective of a "state of mind" than an actual geographic and cultural place.

This view, of course, is rejected by Pacific Islanders themselves, since the Pacific is their ancestral ocean but lately invaded by colonial powers. As indigenous peoples, Pacific Islanders have been struggling against imperialism for nearly 300 years.

Indeed, imperialism is the key here. Since this word, like racism and genocide, appears to have passed from the scholarly canon, I want to underscore my definition and use of it.

For peoples who suffer the yoke of imperialism, it is a total system of foreign power where another culture, people and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society. The results are always destructive, no matter the praises sung by the colonizer. But the extent of the damage depends on the size of the colony, the power of the colonizing country and the resistance of the colonized in the Pacific, tiny islands, large predatory powers – like the United States and France – and small Native populations all but ensure a colonial stranglehold.

Of course, the function of imperialism is exploitation of the colony: its lands and oceans, labor, women, and in the Pacific, its mythic meaning as

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a "South Sea paradise." Moreover, any material aid to the colonies is an extension of exploitation, given to strengthen the economic dependency that binds colony to colonizer, just as teaching Natives to speak English, watch television, and consume alcohol creates a clever web of psychological dependency from which the colonized find it nearly impossible to disentangle. Generations become addicted to the worst cultural habits of the colonial society which increases both ignorance of, and alienation from, the Native culture. Indeed, cultural hegemony is the cutting edge of the imperial enterprise which explains why cultural nationalism becomes such a crucial Native strategy in the battle for decolonization.[1]

In Hawai'i and Aotearoa (New Zealand), for example, teaching the Native languages in immersion schools has been at the forefront of a cultural resurgence that also includes reclaiming of ancestral lands and moves toward various forms of self-government. In situations like these, language instruction is understood to be both a cultural and a political assertion; cultural because it seeks to preserve the core of a way of being and living that is uniquely Native, and political because this attempt at preservation takes place in a system where the dominant group has employed legal and social means to deny the use and inheritance of the Native language by Natives themselves.[2]

An ideology of racism justifies the denial of Native culture with blanket claims such as that "Natives have no culture" comparable to the hegemonic one, or even a valuable culture beyond mere ornamentation. This is especially true in Hawai'i where mass tourism thrives on the commercialization of every aspect of Hawaiian culture. Indeed, one result of commercialization is a widely-held belief that Hawaiian culture – e.g. the *hula*, Hawaiian values of generosity and love such as *aloha*, and the Hawaiian extended family – is particularly suited to the "visitor" industry which, in turn, encourages and preserves Hawaiian culture. The truth, of course, is the opposite: the myth of happy Hawaiians waiting to share their culture with tourists was invented to lure visitors and to disparage Native resistance to the tourist industry.

Behind this crude type of racism are other, subtler kinds of responses to Native cultural assertion premised on racist beliefs that Natives don't understand or even know their culture well enough to assert it. Therefore, the reasoning is, they are arguing for something devised on the spot or, what is more malevolent, they are asserting something political not cultural. Examples of this include accusations by anthropologists and other alleged "experts" that Native nationalists "invent" cultural traditions for purely political ends, or that the culture they practice is not "authentic."[3]

Because of colonization, the question of who defines what is Native, and even who is defined as Native, has been taken away from Native peoples by Western-trained scholars, government officials, and other technicians. This theft in itself testifies to the pervasive power of colonialism and explains why self-identity by Natives of who and what they are elicits such strenuous and sometimes vicious denials by the dominant culture.[4]

These kinds of racist claims are thrown up into the public arena precisely when Native cultural assertion is both vigorous and strongwilled. Representatives of the dominant culture – from anthropologists and historians to bureaucrats and politicians – are quick to feel and perceive danger because, in the colonial context, all Native cultural resistance is political: it challenges hegemony. On one level, this challenge often draws out a rabid insistence on the use of the dominant language – or the general privilege of the dominant culture – in every aspect of life. On another level, mainstream scholars and officials seek to undermine the legitimacy of the Native representatives by attacking their motives in asserting Native culture.

But motivation is usually laid bare through the struggle for cultural expression. Nationalists offer explanations at every turn; in writing, in public forums, and in acts of resistance. To Natives, the burst of creative outpouring that accompanies cultural nationalism is self-explanatory: a choice has been made for things Native over things non-Native. Politically, the choice is one of decolonization.

Language, in particular, helps to decolonize the mind. Thinking in one's own cultural referents leads to conceptualizing in one's own world view which, in turn, leads to disagreement with and eventual opposition to the dominant ideology. Native groups which insist on exclusive membership, redefine authority as that which is Native, and begin to create cultural artifacts that reflect Native history, values, and hopes are the products of decolonizing minds. These groups develop under conditions of heightened consciousness that often result in nationalist political movements. The direct links between mental and political decolonization are clearly observable to representatives of the dominant culture, not only to those oppressed and struggling to strengthen those links. This is why thinking and acting as a Native under colonial conditions is a highly politicized reality, one filled with intimate oppositions and powerful psychological tensions. But it is not the Native who creates the political atmosphere. *That* was begun at the moment of colonization.

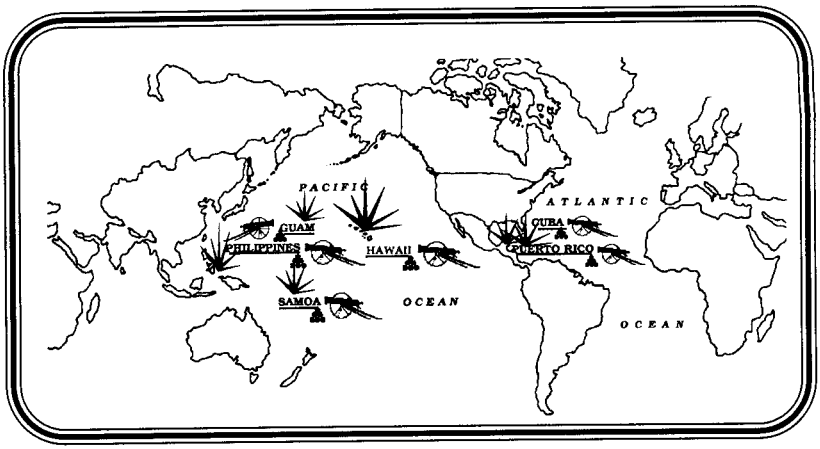
Militarization in the Pacific

Despite its obvious presence, cultural nationalism is not the only arena of resistance, or even the most visible one in the Pacific. First World militarization of the region is more contested since the Pacific evolved from a strange place with a few watering ports and frontier outposts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries into a strategic area for super-power nuclear politics, ocean and land mining and First World dumping in the twentieth century. In the last ten years, another threat has evolved from the "South Sea paradise" myth: mass-based corporate tourism and its demand for lush islands and prurient exotica.

The seeming contradiction in this First World policy of poisoning Pacific Islands while using them as vacation destinations is explained by the utter arrogance of the imperialist nations. Without doubt, Euro-Americans and the (non-nuclear) Japanese see Islanders as racially and culturally inferior. To the predators, the Pacific is vast and far away from the centers of "civilization," rendering it most suitable for dangerous projects (like nuclear testing) and romantic holidays. The sheer stupidity of nuclear testing in the Pacific (or anywhere else) is lost on colonial nations, like the United States and France, because their belief in their own superiority translates into a sense of smug invincibility. To the White world, "civilization," in the form of France and America, will triumph over every difficulty, even nuclear holocaust. The absurd political position called "nuclear survivability" is the result.[5] Here, for example, is a typical enunciation of its appalling posture toward mass death:

"The worst-case scenarios of hundreds of millions dead and widespread destruction would be an unprecedented global calamity, but not necessarily the end of history. [One] of the most important continuities of the nuclear era is that wars can still be fought, terminated, and survived. Some countries will win a nuclear conflict and others will lose, and it is even possible that some nuclear wars may ultimately have positive results (as World War II did). Reconstruction will begin, life will continue, and most survivors will not envy the dead."[6]

Opposition to this madness across national and cultural boundaries has been strong and articulate among Pacific Islanders. Thus organized diplomatic and popular resistance to nuclearization, especially testing and transport of weapons; regional support of independence movements in New Caledonia, West Papua, East Timor, Belau, and Tahiti; scrutiny of foreign exploitation of resources in the region, significantly through



The United States was a late entry in the inter-imperialist rivalries among warring European powers plundering the World's Continents. In the 1890s – with military force – the U.S. took over six small powerless island countries for military bases and for land, labor and resources: Hawai'i, the Philippines, Guam, and Tutuila and Manu'a (Sāmoa) in the Pacific, and Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean-Atlantic.

driftnetting, fisheries, mines and resort development; and increasing fear of foreign cultural dominance that threatens commercialization and eventual loss of native cultures. When viewed through island rather than continental eyes, Pacific peoples live in the largest danger zone in the world.

Because of their familial attachment to both land and sea, Pacific Islanders know a solidarity of geography and culture. Despite their diversity, they are all island peoples in struggle with larger predatory powers. Pacific Island solidarity, then, has been formed in the teeth of First World aggression, or aggression by regional powers, like Indonesia, that are supported by First World institutions such as the World Bank and the American government.[7]

From genocide in West Papua and East Timor, to the murder of Kanak revolutionaries and leaders in New Caledonia, to Tahiti and death from nuclear radiation, to Belau and its plunge into violence by the refusal of the United States to sign a Compact of Free Association, to the Rongelap and Enewetok islanders dispossessed and homeless, to Guam and the Northern Marianas suffering from tourism and military exploitation, to Hawai'i and Aotearoa where the Native people are an oppressed minority in their own land, Pacific Islanders are engaged in resistance struggles that are but the

latest stage in the revolutionary era that advanced the freedom of African, Latin American, and Asian peoples.

French Colonialism

French colonialism illustrates this reality in French-occupied Polynesia and New Caledonia. Independence movements exist in both colonies, represented by the Polynesian Liberation Front in Tahiti and the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) in New Caledonia. Kanak resistance has gained support from the South Pacific Forum (SPF) countries, comprised of independent nations in the South Pacific. With the aid of the SPF, the Kanaks were able to relist New Caledonia on the agenda of the United Nations' Committee on Decolonization. This successful drive stunned the French, partly because it came as a result of regional cooperation between the Kanaks, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and the Melanesian Spearhead group of Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea.

But the Pacific desire for a peaceful transition to Independence for New Caledonia has been blunted. The French massacre of Independentists in a hostage crisis on Ouvea in the Loyalty Islands in May of 1988, and the subsequent signing of the Matignon Accord which delays a vote on independence by a decade, pose a grave threat to Kanak self-determination. Moreover,the loyalist non-Kanaks (French settlers as well as other immigrants) who were resident in New Caledonia in 1988 are allowed to vote in the 1998 referendum, raising the likelihood the overall vote will go against independence. As a result of the Accord, two FLNKS leaders were assassinated by a rival faction on the 1989 anniversary of the French massacre. This latest violence has split the FLNKS, leaving it weakened in the face of French imperialism.[8] In French-occupied Polynesia, meanwhile, French intransigence on their nuclear testing policy – and the Auckland harbor bombing of the nuclear protest ship, Rainbow Warrior, by French espionage agents – have increased Native resistance. Oscar Temaru's Ia Mana Te Nunaa has taken the lead in Tavini Huratira, the Polynesian Liberation Front. Temaru is the mayor of the second largest city in Tahiti, Faaa. And one of his Party's members, Jacqui Drollet, is Minister of Health in the Territorial Government.

In true colonial fashion, French policies have continued to benefit non-Polynesians, leaving the majority of Natives in poor economic and social circumstances. This planned inequality, in turn, has increased support of the nationalist movement. When coupled with French military action against strikers and other dissidents in recent years, French testing policy

has served to unite and expand the anti-nuclear movement – in the form of a pan-Pacific Nuclear-Free and Independent Movement, as well as in established government organizations such as the South Pacific Forum.

French response to Native nationalism in both New Caledonia and Polynesia has vacillated between military occupation and right-wing over-reaction during the Chirac years, to more conciliatory but, in the long run, equally imperialist policies since 1988 under Rocard.

Regionally, France continues to proffer large aid packages – for example, to Fiji and the Cook Islands – in the hopes of tilting the anti-nuclear stand. But denial of adverse environmental and health effects from testing remains the steadfast – and absurd – French posture. Until all Pacific Islands join in a boycott of French goods, France is unlikely to stop nuclear testing.[9]

Indonesian Colonialism

A more vicious battle rages over the independence of West Papua (Irian Jaya) from Indonesia. There a severe refugee problem has been created for Papua New Guinea as more than 12,000 border-crossers have fled Indonesian troops seeking to crush the Free West Papua Movement. The Australian and Papua New Guinea governments have thus far been reluctant to condemn Indonesian atrocities, despite clear evidence of their existence. Meanwhile, the Indonesian "transmigration" policy of settling large numbers of their people in West Papua (officially to "civilize" the "backward" Melanesian) amounts to genocide for West Papuans.

Simultaneously the Indonesian occupation of East Timor (since 1975) and genocide against its Melanesian people continues. Despite United Nations General Assembly condemnations, and appeals from many organizations in the Asia-Pacific region, Indonesia has refused to negotiate with the East Timor resistance front, called Fretilin. Described as a "hidden holocaust in the Pacific," the situation in East Timor has taken the lives of 200,000 people through famine, torture, killings, bombings and disappearances. The Indonesian military and business elites control the economy and political life of East Timor, and have put in place a policy of systematic exclusion and marginalization of the Melanesian Natives.[10]

United States Colonialism

In the so-called United Nations Trust possessions, meanwhile, there is clear American opposition to Native sovereignty. Belau's nuclear-free

constitution (which bans passage of nuclear ships and weapons through its waters) has been forcefully resisted by the United States. The Americans have continued to insist that their naval operations be excluded from this ban. Belauans, meanwhile, have refused to change their Constitution. In the balance is the sovereign integrity of the Belauan people. After several referendums decidedly against changing the Constitution to suit American demands, the political crisis has escalated into violence. One Belauan President has been murdered, one has committed suicide, activists for the anti-nuclear constitution have been killed, and a heroic effort has been mounted by the women in Belau to urge the U.S. Congress to agree to a Compact that accepts Belau's anti-nuclear Constitution.

All this political violence has led to economic violence in the small nation of 15,000 people. As an example, a recently issued U.S. General Accounting Office report on the situation in Belau from August 1985 to August 1988 found Reagan Administration complicity in Belau's economic woes. Ranging from refusals to monitor expenditure of Federal funds in Belau, to overlooking of serious charges of intimidation and reprisals against Belauans opposed to the Compact, the Reagan Administration actually encouraged the economic deterioration and political chaos in Belau in the hopes that such a climate would be favorable to passage of the Compact. Debt-ridden and plagued by scandal, the government of Belau is now hostage to American demands.[11]

Beyond Belau, the long-negotiated covenants with the Northern Marianas, the Marshalls, and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) reveal that full decolonization has not occurred since the United States maintains permanent military rights to these areas, including "Star Wars" testing sites in the Marshalls.[12]

On a larger scale, the question of how and when a United Nations trusteeship is terminated has been raised by confusing and unilateral actions on the part of the United States regarding FSM, the Marshalls and the Northern Marianas. In 1986, for example, President Reagan declared that for these three territories, the Trusteeship was no longer in effect but did in fact continue for the Republic of Belau. A year later, however, the U.S. stated to the United Nations Trusteeship Council that the Micronesian Trusteeship remained in force.[13]

In May, 1989, the Vice President of Belau petitioned the United Nations to continue the Trusteeship. The current U.S. position is that the Trusteeship should be terminated and all "problems" between Belau and the U.S. left for subsequent negotiations *without* the involvement of the United Nations. Belauans fear the Trusteeship Council will give in to the

United States, leaving Belau to the fate of American military imperialism.[14] The failure of the United States to return sovereignty to the Trust territories (as required by United Nations mandate) is proof – if any more is needed – of American colonialism. (Just as radiation poisoning in Enewetok, Bikini, Rongelap, and elsewhere is evidence of American colonialism.) Of course, dispossession of Native peoples was the origin, and continues to be the core, of U.S. foreign policy. From the Indians of the Americas to Pacific Island Natives to the indigenous peoples of Asia, the U.S. has an unbroken record of invasion, land theft, and genocide.[15]

Indeed, as the preeminent military power in the world, the United States, has dealt with the Pacific, since World War II, as if it were an American lake. From an indigenous perspective, this makes America the most powerful imperialist nation in the Pacific. It is not democracy,self-government by a people, that the United States has given back to Hawaiians, Micronesians, and Sāmoans.

Let me cite the example of my own people. Hawai'i was territorially incorporated into the United States after an American military occupation in support of a takeover of the Hawaiian government by missionary-descended businessmen in 1893. Forced annexation occurred in 1898. Hawaiian citizenship was unilaterally changed by the United States to American citizenship in 1900.[16]

Guam became part of the Pacific spoils of World War II and went from Japanese occupation to American occupation, without so much as a vote yea or nay by its indigenous people.[17] Belau, and the rest of Micronesia, were transferred by the United Nations to American control forever altering their ability to be sovereign. So-called "American" Sāmoa, meanwhile, is divided from so-called "Western" Sāmoa, never to be united or independent. All of these cases demonstrate American *imperialism*, that is, America's taking of other lands for its own economic and military benefit. For America's Pacific colonies, U.S. control has meant land dispossession, economic dependency, cultural exploitation, and, in many cases, death and disease. Such American disregard for the human right, and need, of self-determination explains more than anything else why there are nationalist movements in all the U.S. possessions.

The Americans have more than 300,000 troops in the region (based on and off in Hawai'i) that can be deployed on very short notice to the south and east.[18]

This belligerent American presence has been magnified by the Reagan-Bush policy of "nuclear superiority." Nuclearization of the seas, including open ports and sea lanes for nuclear ships, is the basis of this policy. Access to strategic mineral resources is also included, as is the "right of strategic

denial." Here, access to the Pacific Islands to any present or potential enemy is denied by the United States. Additionally, whatever political changes take place, the governments of these islands must remain friendly to the interests of the United States.[19]

Islanders accurately perceive this American posture as the primary threat to their physical and cultural existence in the Pacific.

The effects of American military testing have already meant the dispossession of many island peoples in the Marshalls and elsewhere, despite continued resistance to American military aggression. Given this track record, increased militarization of the region holds the potential for increased dispossession of Pacific Islanders as bases, ports, storage and testing sites, and residential areas are taken for "defense" purposes. This is how the 'interests" of the United States continue to mean degradation, suffering, and often death to Native peoples whose friendship and trust are always betrayed in the end. Hawai'i is an excellent example of American aggression.

Hawai'i

Despite promises to support Hawaiian independence in the nineteenth century, the American invasion of Hawai'i in 1893 was a prelude to the extinguishment of Hawaiian sovereignty in 1898 when, against the expressed wishes of the Hawaiian people, Hawai'i became a territorial possession of the United States. Today, Hawai'i serves as the center for the American commander-in-chief of the Pacific and the forward-basing point for American forces in the region, including nuclear submarines. Tragically for the Native people, Hawai'i is the most militarized of America's colonial possessions in the Pacific, rendering it a likely target in time of war.

At present, the Native people of Hawai'i are crowded into urban areas or rural slums. And their socioeconomic, health, and educational profiles are depressingly poor. The military, in the meantime, controls huge land areas for bases and settlements, while its personnel receive subsidies and other economic privileges. Despite political rhetoric praising the alleged benefits of the military, Hawaiians have suffered enormously from its presence.[20]

South Pacific Islanders can learn from Hawai'i in other ways as well. The overpowering impact of mass tourism on island cultures is best studied in Hawai'i where the multi-billion dollar industry has resulted in grotesque commercialization of Hawaiian culture, creation of a racially-stratified, poorly paid servant class of industry workers, transformation of whole sections of the major islands into high-rise cities, contamination and

depletion of water sources, intense crowding with densities in the worst areas beyond that of Hong Kong, increases in crimes against property and violent crime against tourists, and increasing dependency on multinational investments, particularly from Japan. Today, Hawai'i suffers six and a half million tourists annually, over thirty for every Native Hawaiian.[21]

Indeed, Japan is moving into the Pacific with aggressive economic penetration as investors and as tourists in Vanuatu, Tahiti, Micronesia, Fiji, Sāmoa, and elsewhere. In Hawai'i meanwhile, Japanese firms have purchased over nine billion dollars worth of real estate since the 1970s, and their rate of purchases is increasing.[22]

For Pacific peoples, such proliferating investment means further loss of economic control and cultural continuity. If the Hawaiian experience with tourism has taught anything, it is that inundation of small land bases, and populations by hordes of visitors depletes the Native culture to a point of irreparable damage. Moreover, the people live in a hostage economy where tourist industry employment means active participation in their own degradation. As tourism becomes a global business, the impact it has on small land bases and populations will begin to be experienced by larger countries.

But if mass-based, corporate tourism is dangerous, so is dependency on foreign exploitation of the regions' resources from sealanes and harbors, to land areas and deep sea fish. Add to this, strong big-power interest in seabed minerals, communication and information control, and extended maritime jurisdictions, and Pacific Islanders appear to be swamped by a global economy in which they are both small and vulnerable. Indeed, weak economies are the "norm" among South Pacific states. On a per capita basis, they are the most aid-dependent in the world.[23]

In fact, it is precisely the minute size and isolation of most Pacific Islands (in comparison to the big Euro-American and Asian powers) which makes them so attractive to the depredations of larger, less isolated, more urbanized nations whose economies and politics depend on constant profit, constant military readiness, and constant mobility.

The myth of an unspoiled paradise somewhere in the Pacific is belied, of course, by the realities of nuclear poisoning, impoverishment, racism, and exploitation. But it is the myth which drives foreign investment and lures foreign tourists.

Survival of Pacific Islanders

At the risk of over-generalizing, I would suggest the following as crucial to the survival of Pacific Islanders:

1) *Self-Determination*: New Caledonia, West Papua, East Timor, New Zealand, Tahiti, Belau and the other Trust Territories, Sāmoa, Guam, and Hawai'i all have Native movements for various forms of political and economic autonomy. I have recently learned of the Organization of People for Indigenous Rights in Guam which, like groups elsewhere in the American lake, is seeking some form of Native autonomy, induding a land base for economic self-sufficiency.[24] In Hawai'i, meanwhile, the Native people have been struggling for self-determination for the last decade. The major actors in this drama are a government-created Native council – called the Office of Hawaiian Affairs; a Native initiative for self-government called Ka Lāhui Hawai'i; and the State and Federal governments – including the alleged Hawaiian governor of the State of Hawai'i, and Senator Inouye, Chair of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Over a million acres of Native trust lands and billions of dollars of revenues are at stake. Predictably, Senator Inouye, the governor, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs are in opposition to the Native initiative. As in the rest of the Pacific, so in Hawai'i: the forces arrayed against sovereignty support non-Native control of Native lands and assets.

2) *Nuclear-Free Pacific*. This issue is tied closely to the Independence issue. Since it is the three big powers of America, France, and the Soviet Union who threaten the region through nuclearization, it is they who must abide by the South Pacific Forum's Nuclear-Free Zone protocols. Only the Soviet Union and China have said they will honor that treaty. Moreover, the treaty is not as strong as it might be, allowing Australia to continue to export uranium, and leaving the question of nuclear weapons transport to each South Pacific nation. As Vanuatu's Walter Lini has argued, a nuclear-free South Pacific means no nuclear material whatever. Finally, the treaty doesn't include Hawai'i, or the Trust Territories, all of whom must negotiate separately with America. The case of Hawai'i may be the worst because it is heavily saturated with American military and thus could serve as a flashpoint for nuclear exchanges.

3) *Protection of Natural and Cultural Resources*. Apart from landbased resources, this area of concern includes protection of (and fair rates for) fish, seabed minerals, and other ocean/land privileges negotiated with foreign countries. Of paramount importance here is protection of the ocean environment.

Recently, at the twentieth meeting of the South Pacific Forum in Tarawa, a statement was adopted which declared the South Pacific area a "driftnet-free" region. Japan, which attended the Forum, refuses to stop

driftnetting. Korea and Taiwan have also refused. Undoubtedly, Forum members will raise the driftnet issue at the United Nations. Meanwhile, Japan is sure to continue its "checkbook diplomacy" in the Pacific, hoping to secure allies in their driftnet war. At present, the estimated Pacific Island aid package from Japan is US $70 million.[25]

Hand in hand with protection of the ocean and land goes protection of culture, which is dependent on the island/sea ecosystem. At issue is the rapid and severe impact of foreign cultures and economies on peoples dependent on subsistence lifeways with little or no advanced technology. When coupled with the effects of tourism, rapid introduction of mass communication (e.g. television, radio) and transport can destroy cultures in less than a generation. Familiar social problems (crime, family breakdown, suicide and other violence) follow, and the Native people are caught in something they do not understand and have few means of controlling.

4) *Foreign Polices and Regional Security*. Pacific Island nations need to venture out from under the Euro-American umbrella, as Kiribati and Vanuatu did in their respective 1985 and 1987 fishing agreements with the Soviets. This means increased involvement with other nations (in the Third World, for example), with international organizations (like the United Nations), and with other Pacific Islanders (e.g. the sub-regional Melanesian Spearhead group of Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea).[26]

Within the Pacific Basin, cultural experiences and geographic similarity can be used as a foundation for regional cooperation to resolve disputes and to present unified positions on crucial issues, such as nuclearization of the Pacific. Here, economic and political efforts have led to the creation of regional organizations like the Forum Fisheries Agency, the Committee for the Coordination of Off-Shore Prospecting in the South Pacific, and the (South Pacific) Forum Secretariat, formerly the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation. The recently formed Committee on Regional Institutional Arrangements (CRIA) of the South Pacific Forum will work on integration of the Forum's intergovernmental agencies. This kind of joint effort must continue.[27]

Native Hawaiians, like other Pacific Islanders, view the ancestral Pacific as the repository of their history, including great genealogies of fearless navigators who made their journeys from island to island and hemisphere to hemisphere with nothing but the stars to guide them. More the children of the sea than the land, Pacific Islanders know their survival as distinct peoples depends on the survival of the Pacific itself. The First

World nations must still learn what Pacific Islanders have known for millennia: upon the survival of the Pacific depends the survival of the world.

Notes

Author's Note: As for capitalizing Native in this essay, the issue is complex. The word is colonial in origin, like "Black" as a description of Africans transplanted to America. But just as "Black" was politicized, used for self-identification, and capitalized, so "Native" has undergone similar transformations.

I capitalize it to emphasize the political distance between that which is Western and that which is Native. But I also do it to highlight the word and therefore its referent. In Hawai'i we generally call ourselves Hawaiians. But since the sovereignty movement, the consciosness that we are Natives and not immigrants to Hawai'i has meant a greater identification with the term Native, especially as immigrant history here has been glorified and falsified at the expense of Natives. It's a typically American line to reiterate, i.e. "we are all immigrants." My use of Native is in opposition to that line: caps remind the reader that some of us aren't immigrants.

Thus, my usage is political on a geographic level (i.e., we are Native to Hawai'i and therefore not American); on an ideological level (i.e. we are neither Western nor Eastern but Native Pacific Islanders); and on a cultural level (we are not transplants who are "new" to Hawai'i but an ancient people who have learned to live in and with our place and whose culture is the least destructive and the most beneficial to the land).

1. See, for examples of "cultural nationalism" among indigenous peoples, the following: Awatere 1984; Cabral 1973; Deloria 1973; Means 1980; Trask 1987b.

2. See, for examples of the importance of language revival in Hawai'i and Aotearoa (New Zealand), Kimura 1983:173-97; and Awatere 1984:92-108. For a careful exploration of the link between the use of Native languages and decolonization, see Ngugi Wa Thiongo 1986.

3. See Linnekin, 1983, 1985. For my review of Linnekin's book, see Trask 1986. In her article, Linnekin writes: "For Hawai'i 'traditional' properly refers to the precontact era, before Cook's arrival in 1778" (1983:242). But later, on the same page, she admits that "tradition is fluid...." Still despite this confusion, she criticizes Hawaiians for a "reconstruction of traditional Hawaiian society" in the present. Linnekin's difficulty stems from the kind of wrong-headedness that insists on hard-edged bifurcations of reality: pre-Western culture vs. post-Western culture.

But what constitutes "tradition" to a people is ever-changing. Culture is not static, nor is it frozen in objectified moments in time. Without doubt, Hawaiians were transformed drastically and irreparably after contact, but remnants of earlier lifeways, including values and symbols, have persisted. One of these values is the Hawaiian responsibility to care for the land, to make it flourish, called *mālama 'āina* or *aloha 'āina*. Regarding the "traditional" value of *mālama 'āina*, see Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, 1986,1992. To Linnekin, this value has been invented by modern Hawaiians to protest

degradation of the land by developers, the military and others. What Linnekin has missed here – partly because she has an incomplete grasp of "traditional" values but also because she doesn't understand and thus misapprehends Hawaiian cultural nationalism – is simply this: the Hawaiian relationship to land has persisted into the present. What has changed is ownership and use of the land (from collective use by Hawaiians for subsistence to private use by Whites and other non-Natives for profit). Asserting the Hawaiian relationship in this changed context results in politicization. Thus, Hawaiians assert a "traditional" relationship to the land *not* for political ends, as Linnekin arguees, but because they continue to believe in the cultural value of caring for the land. That land use is now contested makes such a belief political. This distinction is crucial because the Hawaiian cultural motivation reveals the persistence of traditional value, the very thing Linnekin claims modern Hawaiians have "invented."

For a sweeping condemnation of nearly every cultural revival in the Pacific, see a particularly racist and dismissive article by Roger M. Keesing, "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity" 1989. For examples of tourist industry apologists and their assertions that tourism encourages Hawaiian culture, see Smyser 1982, and my reply 1982.

4. Native Hawaiians are defined by the Federal government as those Hawaiians with 50 percent or more blood quantum. Hawaiians with less than 50 percent blood are not considered to be "Native" by the Federal government and are thus not entitled to lands and monies set aside for 50 percent bloods. See the *Federal-State Task Force Report on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act* 1983. Beyond the legal definition of Hawaiians, the question of what constitutes things Hawaiian is constantly asserted by anthropologists, like Linnekin, against Native nationalists. Of course, Linnekin's claim to knowledge is her training as an anthropologist applied to research. Native nationalists' claim to knowledge is their life experience as Natives. The problem is more serious than epistemology, however. In a colonial world, the work of anthropologists and other Western trained "experts" is used to disparage and exploit Natives. Thus, what Linnekin writes about Hawaiians has more potential power than what Hawaiians write. Proof of this rests in the use of Linnekin's argument (in the article cited above) by the U.S. Navy that Hawaiian nationalists have invented the sacred meaning of Kaho'olawe island (which the U.S. Navy has controlled and bombed since the second World War) because nationalists need a "political and cultural symbol of protest" in the modern period (p. 246). Here, the connection between anthropology and the colonial enterprise is explicit. When Natives accuse Western scholars of exploiting them, they have in mind the exact kind of situation I am describing. In fact, the Navy's study was done by an anthropologist who, of course, cited fellow anthropologists including Linnekin, to argue that the Hawaiian assertion of love and sacredness regarding Kaho'olawe was "fakery." Entitled *Kaho'olawe Island, Hawai'i Cultural Significance Overview*, the Navy's study was done by one Tom Keane in 1986. Far from overstating their case, Native nationalists keenly comprehend the structure of their oppression, including that perpetuated by anthropologists.

5. See Hayes et al. 1986.

6. Hayes et al. 1986:337.

7. See *Pacific News Bulletin* 3 (1988):2, 4, 8.

8. See Henningham 1989; *Pacific Island Monthly*, June 1988 and 1989, and July and October, 1989; *Pacific News Bulletin* 3 (1988): 3.

9. Henningham 1989; *Pacific News Bulletin* 4 (1989):11.

10. See *Pacific Islands Monthly*, March, 1988; *Pacific News Bulletin* 2 (1987): 2; 3 (1988): 4, 6, 8.

11. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, February, 1988; *Pacific News Bulletin* 2 (1987): 2; 3 (1988):1-8; 4 (1989): 2-11.

12. *Pacific News Bulletin* 4 (1989):8.

13. See Firth 1989.

14. *Pacific News Bulletin* 4 (1989): 8.

15. See a most detailed, rigorous, and insightful argument that U.S. foreign policy has been and continues to be one of expansionism based on uninterrupted American dispossession of indigenous peoples from the Indians of the Americas to Pacific Islanders to Asian peoples in Drinnon 1980.

16. *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, Vols. 1 and 2, (1983). Vol. 1 of the Report was written by the non-Native members of the Reagan-appointed Cornmission and predictably denies complicity of the United States in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893, and in forced annexation in 1898. Vol. 2 of the Report was written by the Native Hawaiian members of the Commission and argues for both restitution and self-government for Native Hawaiians based upon the US. role in overthrowing the Hawaiian government and forcibly incorporating Hawai'i into the United States.

17. See the special issue on "Militarization and Indigenous Peoples" *Cultural Surival Quarterly* 11:3 (1987). Also, Underwood and Souder 1987.

18. See the report written by Robert C. Kiste and R.A. Herr 1984, available from the Center for Pacific Island Studies at the University of Hawai'i Manoa. Also see, Anthony 1986.

19. For an elaboration of the "right of strategic denial" see Dorrance 1980. For a critique of this, see Anthony 1985.

20. Statistics on Hawaiians are available in the *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, vol. 1, 1983. For an analysis of these statistics in the context of Hawaiian resistance, see Trask 1987c.

21. See, for examples of socioeconomic and environmental problems as a result of tourism in Hawai'i, *Hawai'i Business*, April 1985; Matsuoka and Kelly 1988; Stannard 1986; Chesney-Lind 1983; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 26,1988; and the 1989 Declaration of the Hawai'i Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism calling for a ban

on all resort and related developments in rural Hawaiian communities, unpublished but available from the American Friends Service Committee, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

22. For Japanese investments in the South Pacific, see *Pacific Islands Monthly*, February and March 1988. For an analysis of foreign investment in Hawai'i, see *A Study of Foreign Investment and Its Impact on the State*, Hawai'i Real Estate Center, 1989. Also see, from the same Center, *A Preliminary Statistical Evaluation of Japanese Investment in Hawai'i Real Etate*: January 1987 to March 1988.

23. Firth 1989:91-92

24. Underwood & Souder 1987:103-124.

25. For concerns regarding dumping of garbage in the Marshalls, and driftnetting in the Pacific, among other issues, see the summary of the fifteen-nation South Pacific Forum meeting in *Pacific News Bulletin*, August 1989.

26. Firth 1987:75-96.

27. Herr 1989:142-49.

Kānaka Maoli and the United Nations

By Nakoa Prejean

The *kanaka maoli* struggle for sovereignty and inherent right to self-determination is an international matter. It is followed by international forums, and we participate in these at all levels. *Kānaka maoli* cooperate with American Indians, Pacific Islanders, a variety non-governmental organizations as well as other Indigenous Peoples struggling for recognition of their inherent right to self-determination and the rights there entailed. The chapters by Mililani Trask and Haunani-Kay Trask (this volume) have discussed at some length the federal policy and the relationship to the United States, as well as cooperation with Pacific Islanders. They have also touched upon the on-going cooperation with other groups in the regional and international arena, such as South Pacific Forum, the pan-Pacific Nuclear-Free and Independent movement, various church organizations and the World Court. Here the focus will be on the United Nations and the cooperation with Native American Indian organizations, for example, the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC).

The first person to connect the *kānaka maoli* with Native American Indians and other Indigenous Peoples worldwide was Kawaipuna Kapaekukuiokahilina'i Prejean. He helped to evolve the traditional argument for civil rights into the broader context of human rights, thus illuminating the commonality of Indigenous Peoples' struggles worldwide. He also continued to be one of the main spokesmen for the *kanaka maoli* struggle for self-determination until his untimely death this April.

As early as back in the 1970s, Kawaipuna Prejean in his capacity as Executive Director of the Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims (HCNC) from 1973-1978, which was the first "legal" research body in Hawai'i, affiliated with the Native American Rights Fund of Boulder, Colorado. HCNC worked with the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), and Kawaipuna Prejean addressed the general assembly of NCAI clarifying that *kānaka maoli* did not want to appear to be competing for the already exiguous funds earmarked for American Indians and Alaska Natives. He stressed that we *kānaka maoli* were being underserved and discriminated against in Hawai'i and on the continent, and that we would like their support to seek funding over and above those funds earmarked for their constituents (Prejean 1991b). From this first beginning we have learned much from Indigenous People globally and Indigenous People in

lands now claimed by the United States. We are thankful for this sharing of experience and knowledge with us.

Some Subjects Raised by *Kānaka Maoli* in the United Nations

Kānaka maoli have regularly participated in the work of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and the Commission on Human Rights. For four years, we have been submitting interventions to the United Nations concerning the *kanaka maoli* struggle for self-determination. An intervention submitted by *Kia'āina* (governor) Mililani Trask of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i this year enclosed material documenting violations of the human and civil rights of the native Hawaiian people, it concluded:

"The nation of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i requests the assistance of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations to investigate the continuing violations of the civil rights of the native Hawaiian people by the United States government and its agent the State of Hawai'i and the refusal of the U.S. federal and state governments to allocate native trust lands and revenues to Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, the sovereign Hawaiian nation and the native Hawaiian people" (1992:2).

One of the documents submitted was the The Hawai'i Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights' *A Broken Trust: Seventy Years of Failure of the Federal and State Governments to Protect the Civil Rights of Native Hawaiians,* December 1991. The report which is a major embarrassment to the state and federal agencies charged with overseeing the Hawaiian Homelands' program had been called to the attention of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at its 48th session in Geneva, January-February 1992, under item 12 of the agenda which investigates the violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories. In an intervention on behalf of the International Indian Treaty Council, Kawaipuna Prejean, in his capacity of representative of Ka Pākaukau (a coalition of *kanaka maoli* organizations committed to assertion of inherent sovereignty), and delegate of IITC, called attention to

"the dismal record of the United States in keeping promises exacerbated the appalling conditions confronting Indigenous First Nations people in

lands now claimed by America. [...] Both the [Hawaiian] state and the federal government were recently implicated for their failure to protect the civil rights of Native Hawaiians for the last 70 yearts. A Broken Trust, a fact-finding report to the Civil Rights Commission, failed to impose sanctions or penalties on the bungling bureaucracies. Yet resistors to these human rights' abuses are forcebly removed and arrested by colonial stooges goon squads and bureaucratic thugs. This soft form of genocide is genocide none the less" (Prejean 1992a; United Nations Information Service 1992a).

In 1959 the United States illegally ordered Hawai'i removed from the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. This action denied our people's right to self-determination and decolonization (Prejean 1992a) by violating Article 73 of the United Nations' Charter which states:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose people have not yet attained full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the wellbeing of the inhabitants of these terrritories and [...] ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses; to develop self-government, to take due account of political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions" (United Nations 1945).

But at no time in the years from 1946, when the Charter was signed, to 1959, when Hawai'i became a state, did the United States on behalf of the *kānaka maoli* attempt to "develop self-government" as a separate entity from the United States or the Territory, or to assist us in "progressive development" of "free political institutions." This is one of the major crimes of the United States that the international sharing and exchange of information has helped to expose (Prejean 1992a).

The problems of genocide and health were, furthermore, brought to the attention of the Sub-Commission in 1991, when Kawaipuna Prejean, on behalf of the IITC said,

"Encounters with colonizers has resulted in genocide and a serious decline in our length of life and general health due to demise of traditional subsistence food. A traditional diet experiment test on Moloka'i was extremely successful in improving and restoring the health of kānaka maoli indigenous inhabitants of Hawai'i" (Prejean 1991a:2).

Indigenous Peoples in the United Nations

The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) under the General Assembly of the United Nations established the Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in 1946 which in turn established the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1947, the annual Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) was established, in its turn, by the Sub-Commission in 1982. One of the main purposes of the UNWGIP is to review developments pertaining to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms for Indigenous Peoples. This includes compiling information received through either written or oral interventions which are presented on behalf of Indigenous Peoples, non-governmental organizations, inter-governmental organizations or governments. This information is then analyzed and submitted with conclusions and recommendations, by the chairperson/ rapporteur Mrs. Erica-Irene A. Daes, for review and discussion by the Sub-Commission. Another point of vital importance for the UNWGIP is the evolution of standards concerning the rights of Indigenous Peoples. This last undertaking has evolved into the drafting of a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which by now is in its second reading, and hopefully will be ready to submit to the Sub-Commission in 1993, which has been declared "The International Year for the World's Indigenous People." At this point the report of the UNWGIP which includes the draft declaration will have to work its way through the Sub-Commission, the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council, to finally reach the General Assembly. Although a declaration is not binding and cannot be enforced, it is normally followed by a convention, which has to be ratified by each country, and will hopefully acquire the status of *jus cogens* or "preemptory norm," which it rightly deserves.

The Working Group is less formal than other United Nation bodies, allowing anyone, who may wish to speak, the opportunity. It attracts a variety of participants including government representatives, representatives from various inter-governmental organizations like the International Committee of the Red Cross, International Labor Organization (ILO) and

the World Health Organization (WHO), as well as experts and other individual delegates from Non-Governmental Organizations with consultative status within the ECOSOC. A few progressive organizations aware of the situation of and supporting *kānaka maoli* are the International Indian Treaty Council (with *kanaka maoli* delegates in recent years), International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), the Society for Threatened Peoples, and Working Group on Indigenous Peoples (WIP).

The Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, 10th session, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 44th session

In 1992 a total of 615 people (of which only 41 were funded by the Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations) participated in the annual meeting of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which as usual convened in Geneva in the last week of July and first of August, preceding the annual meeting of the Sub-Commission, which takes place during the last three weeks of August in preparation for the Commission on Human Rights, which meets in February/March every year. The Working Group has become a unique forum where representatives for 300 million Indigenous People worldwide come together, in a show of solidarity and cooperation, to express our heartfelt concerns regarding the recognition of our inherent right to self-determination and regarding the abolition of gross violations of human rights committed against Indigenous Peoples by nation-states.

Matters of paramount importance in 1992 included the land thievery being conducted by nation-states, the usurpation of Indigenous Peoples resources for exploitative purposes benefitting nation-states, the forced relocation and displacement of Indigenous Peoples from their traditional homelands by the colonial tool of population transfers, as well as the gross violation perpetuated by nation states using force against Indigenous Peoples.

The Working Group in 1992 focused on the draft declaration with extended discussions of the concepts and definitions that are included in this document. The notion of self-determination, which is the essence of the draft declaration drew strong reservations from most of the representatives of observer governments. The chairperson and rapporteur pointed out that the principle of self-determination "was used in its internal character, that is short of any implications which might encourage the

formation of independent states" (United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations 1992:17). A number of Indigenous Peoples maintained, on the contrary, that the right to self-determination was an inherent and inalienable right of all peoples and nations which existed independently, beyond the mere recognition of governments and international organizations. They also maintained that the meaning that Indigenous Peoples ascribe to the right to self-determination is attributed to it by international law. "In addition to determine their own destiny in political, economic, cultural and social structures, the right to self-determination should necessaily encompass the rights of Indigenous Peoples to use and control their own lands and natural resources, to impose taxes, to engage in cross-border trade, to impose their own criminal and civil jurisdiction with respect to Indigenous Peoples as well as non-indigenous living on their territory" (op.cit.:18). *Kānaka maoli* groups like Ka Lāhui Hawai'i have signed treaties with Alaskan and North American Indian Groups and are planning on trade agreements.

This interpretation is supported by the 1960 Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (United Nations 1960), which recognizes the principle of self-determination as a fundamental human right, the enjoyment of which is an essential precondition for the enjoyment of any human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Concepts of central importance to *kānaka maoli*, like "peoples", "lands", "territories", "resources", "collective rights", "mental integrity", "cultural genocide" and "compensation", were discussed along the same lines, indicating what the discussions will be like further up in the United Nations bureaucracy. In the ILO Convention No. 169 (which previously has aroused strong tensions), the use of the term "peoples", for instance, does not imply the right to self-determination as understood in international law. The need to eliminate the double standards that exist in international, national, and state levels is a point of heated contention for Indigenous Peoples who suffer from this type of blatant discrimination. The chairperson/rapporteur was invited to make written proposals for ways of ensuring full Indigenous participation in any consideration of the draft by the higher bodies of the United Nations, as well as for recommendations for the implementation of the declaration

The Working Group furthermore considered the preliminary report of the special rapporteur, Dr. Miguel Alfonso Martínez, on the Study of Treaties, Agreements and Other Constructive Arrangements Between States and Indigenous Peoples. By July 1992 the special rapporteur had received 15 replies, seven of which were from governments and the rest

Kawaipuna Prejean. Photo: Ulla Hasager, 12/26/92.

from Indigenous Peoples. On behalf of Ka Pākaukau and Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, *kānaka maoli* replied to the questionnaire sent out by Dr. Martínez by submitting information on five treaties which were violated and broken by the United States upon the illegal overthrow in 1893 of the sovereign Nation of Hawai'i. Dr. Martínez was formally invited to meet with *kānaka maoli* in our homeland, so that he may have first-hand experience of our oppressed conditions and efforts to restore our separate and independent nation.

Also discussed was the study of ownership and control of the cultural property of Indigenous Peoples. It was suggested that immediate protective action be taken and that the intellectual property of Indigenous Peoples be included in his study. The Sub-Commission requested that the study include a comprehensive analysis of the laws and traditions of Indigenous Peoples with respect to the definition, ownership and control of cultural property, and that it be conducted in direct cooperation with Indigenous

Peoples. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other competent United Nations bodies and specialized agencies were urged to give priority considerations to projects aimed at strengthening Indigenous Peoples capacities for ecological and medical research.

The International Year for the World's Indigenous People

"Indigenous Peoples – A New Partnership" is the principal theme in General Assembly resolutions 45/146 and 46/128, declaring 1993 the International Year for the World's Indigenous People. 1993 also marks the *100th year since the overthrow of the sovereign Nation of Hawai'i.* Below are listed some of the ideas and events for the Year that are important for *kānaka maoli:*

1. The Year will be launched on December 10th, 1992, at the United Nations in New York.
2. The importance of the participation of Indigenous Peoples in the planning, implementaion and evaluation of activities of the Year was continuously stressed in the Working Group as well as in the Sub-Commission. This will heavily depend on funding from governments and other organizations, which were urged to contribute generously to the International Year's Voluntary Fund.
3. The World Conference on Human Rights to be held in Vienna in June 1993 is considered an important occasion for the Indigenous Peoples to come forward. The Sub-Commission urged the prepatory committee to consider convening a special prepatory meeting for Indigenous Peoples early in 1993, and it recommended that it be ensured that Indigenous Peoples were able to participate effectively in the Conference regardless of consultative status.
4. Following the success of the First World Indigenous Youth Conference in Quebec in Canada in July 1992, a second conference is planned in June or July, 1993, in Darwin, Australia.
5. It was also suggested that the Working Group should be given the status of an established United Nations body and continue its important activity and contribution to the protection of the rights of Indigenous Peoples.
6. The Centre for Human Rights is preparing a manual on practical experiences of Indigenous Populations in internal self-government.
7. A comprehensive program to document the living conditions of Indigenous Peoples all over the world was suggested by the Mrs. Daes. The United Nations should from 1993 onwards produce annual reports on the state of the world's Indigenous Peoples.

8. A conference is arranged for Indigenous groups to develop international guidelines to protect the cultural and intellectual property of Indigenous Peoples.

Activities in Hawai'i 1993

1. January 17, 1993: 100th anniversary of the illegal invasion and overthrow of the sovereign kingdom of Hawai'i and following occupation by Americans.
2. March 7-15, 1993: International Women's Week. Key Indigenous speakers to be announced.
3. July 1993: 150 years since Restoration from the illegal British occupation of the Hawaiian Islands.
4. August 12-21, 1993: Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, The Peoples International Tribunal of Hawai'i. The charges against the United States are reproduced in the following article.
5. August 1993: International Indian Treaty Council's 15th Annual Conference attended by International delegates for the purpose of discussing and documenting policies and positions for participation in international fora.

Human Rights and the Rights of Every Living Thing

Kānaka maoli work closely together with Maori groups as well as the IITC in efforts to continue our peaceful, lawful pursuit for justice with dignity, and to strive to liberate all our oppressed brothers and sisters be it in the Pacific, Great Turtle Island, and beyond. Our concern is for everyone and not just narrowly focused. We look to the welfare of all Indigenous People who have been under attack since the slave-owners tried to enslave the Indigenous People for their profit and economic wellbeing.

Indigenous People worldwide are finally beginning to arouse the attention of the progressive people globally, knowing that how it goes for the Indigenous People will it go for every living thing, including all the members of the human family. We must remember that racism is a manifestation of colonization, therefore, we must decolonize our minds, take the chains off our brains, and strive for the highest standards of upholding the rights of our Indigenous People as being drafted in the United Nations (Prejean 1992b).

Kānaka maoli must participate in these international fora, but never forget that the main fight is in Hawai'i Nei, and going on all the time!

Note

This article is based on Kawaipuna Prejean's manuscript "Human Rights, Justice and Indigenous Peoples" (January 1992, revised March 1992) and oral statements in the United Nations in 1991a, 1992a; on Ulla Hasager & Kawaipuna Prejean: Hawai'i a Trust Broken, IWGIA Newsletter 2, 1992; on the Report of the United Nations Working Group of Indigenous Populations, 1992, and press release from the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (United Nations Information Service 1992a).

Mahealani Pai testifies at Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli – The Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i, Kona, August 19,1993. In the background, the Advocate Prosecutor team: José Morin og Glenn Morris. Photo: Ulla Hasager.

Hawai'i-Loa Kūlike Kākou

By Pilahi Paki and Liko Martin

Nau e mākou ma ka honua
I walea, malihini no
Lohe mākou nā leo oli
Nā leo mo'olelo pana
'Ike maka mākou i ka nani
E hāmauloa, ko leo Aloha 'āina.

HAWAI'I-LOA, KŪLIKE KĀKOU
Kūpa'a me ka lōkahi e
Kūkala me ka wiwo'ole
'Onipa'a kākou, 'Onipa'a kākou
A lanakila, na kini e
E ola, e ola, e ola, na kini e

I loko nā hale a pōhaku
A'o ia nā hana hiehie
Wai pipi'i, O'wawa uliuli o Waipi'o e
Nā pu'u panoa o Kaho'olawe ke awa o Kahana
Ke-one-kani-o-Nohili, hanohano o Hanalei

Maloko 'o ka lua 'o Pele, lohe makua kō leo
Leo aloha ana kupuna, me tutu mā
E Ka-makua-mau-loa e, ko leo, Haleakalā
Pane mai ko leo Aloha 'āina
Hawai'i-loa, Kūlike Kākou

As I've traveled from place to place
Some familiar and some are strange
To hear the ancient chantings of our home.
As I've listened to the stories
My eyes have seen the glory
So let us raise our voices in song to save our land.

ALL HAWAI'I STAND TOGETHER
It is now and forever
To raise our voices. Hold your banners high
We shall stand as a nation
Guide the destiny of our generations
Sing and praise the Glory of our Land

Within stone walls and cities of refuge
We learn the sacred ways
Upon Waipi'o's valley floor the ancient battles rage
From the barren slopes of Kaho'olawe
    and shores of Kahana Bay
We shall claim our lands from the Barking Sands
    To the valleys of Hanalei

From the fiery pit of Tutu Pele,
    I hear my mother's call
Old Tutu Kane and Mauna Kea, send their love to all
To stand as one beneath the sun,
    blessings from Haleakalā
For our sweet Ka'ala and Wai'ale'ale
Where the greatest waters fall.

Original (English) words and music by L. Martin. Translation by P. Paki. First public performance in January 1976, on the grounds of 'Iolani Palace, in the 1st annual commemoration of the U.S. invasion of Hawai'i in 1893.

Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli
The Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i, 1993

The untimely April 14, 1992, death of Kawaipuna Prejean led to the Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group's commitment to the Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i which Kawaipuna had proposed. Linking with the Indigenous Peoples movements world-wide strengthens all, and is a worthy tribute to Kawaipuna.

The tribunal took place August 12 to 21, 1993, and revealed the shameful record of crimes committed by the United States. The United States' violations against *kanaka maoli* Human Rights include violations of *kanaka maoli* political independence, economic exploitation, destruction of culture (cultural genocide), militarism in Ka Pae'āina (the Hawaiian Archipelago), racism, genocide and destruction of the environment.

The modern concept and practice of convening a peoples' international tribunal has emerged because governments of nation-states have failed to carry out some fundamental normative tasks that citizens and peoples of various societies regard as imperative. The established judiciary systems of the nation-states and the world court created by them, the International Court of Justice in the Hague, have not moved to hear claims of injustices against the indigenous peoples and unrecognized non-nation-states seeking redress for claims against the nation-states. A peoples' international tribunal is a mechanism for international civil society to challenge nation-

states, even the most powerful, for violations of morality as well as documented international law. While lacking the military power of enforcement, the critical judgment of such tribunals, by embarrassing the guilty nations-states before the court of world opinion, put pressure on these nation-states to resolve the outstanding issues.

The indictment of the United States federal government by Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli - The Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i, 1993 – followed the historic International Tribunal of Indigenous Peoples and Oppressed Nations in the USA, which convened in San Francisco, October 3, 1992, and highlighted the 1992 Quincentennial of Indigenous Resistance to the Columbian Legacy. In 1992, the preliminary findings of fact and order stated:

"All citizens of the World Community have both the right and the duty under public international law to sit in judgment of a gross and consistent pattern of violations of the most fundamental norms of international criminal law committed by any memberstate of that same World Community" (1992:4).

The verdict of the San Francisco Tribunal included the following statement:

The Federal Government of the United States of America has perpetrated crimes of genocide against the kānaka maoli (the Indigenous Hawaiian People) and has engaged in actions constituting gross violations of their human rights and their right to self-determination, all of which threaten to render kānaka maoli extinct (International Tribunal of Indigenous Peoples and Oppressed Nations in the USA 1992:11).

The primary charge against the United States government in the 1993 Tribunal focused on its 1893 illegal armed invasion of the sovereign *kanaka maoli* Nation and, since 1898, the U.S. illegal annexation and occupation of *kanaka maoli* homeland. These acts were the result of a long-standing U.S. policy of exploitation of *kānaka maoli* and resources to serve U.S. interests. Moreover, U.S. abuses of the people and their native land continue to the present. Accordingly, the charges in this indictment encompassed almost 200 years of U.S. inimical presence in Hawai'i.

The purposes of Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli were to:

1) Elicit and assemble a comprehensive record of the wrongs committed by the U.S. and its constituent parties, such as the State of Hawai'i, against *kanaka maoli* People and Nation;

2) Educate *kānaka maoli*, the U.S. and the international community of these violations;

3) Analyze their causes, consequences and implications; and, thus, to establish an historical, moral and legal basis for required remedies;

4) Propose effective strategies for righting these wrongs as world attention is directed in 1993 to the 100th anniversary of the illegal, armed invasion and occupation of the *kanaka maoli* Nation by the U.S.; and,

5) Build unity among *kānaka maoli* themselves and solidarity with other indigenous peoples and oppressed nations through this key event in the United Nations' 1993 International Year for the World's Indigenous People and the 1990s' Decade of Decolonization.

Thus, special invitations were extended to other Indigenous People who, like *kānaka maoli*, are also victims of the U.S. imperialism in the 1890s. These fellow-colonized victims included representatives from Indigenous Peoples of the Philippine Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico and Tutuila and Manu'a of Sāmoa. The importance of the participation of these special invited witnesses was clear, for instance in the explanations by spokesperson for the Chamoru Nation Traditional Council, Angel Santos, who witnessed about the colonial situation of Guam, still on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories:

"Indeed, the U.S. has succeeded in brainwashing our people. [...] In order for the colonizer to control the colonized, the colonizer must destroy the identity, the language and the culture of the people. [...] This is a statement to the World. We must free our people from the bondage of colonial slavery. [...] The U.S. has only been in existence, for what, two hundred years. Our ancestors have been on Guam [...] for four thousand years" (Speach at the Opening Panel "The 1898 Group," Reorganized Makiki Church, August 13).

A Tribunal Sensitive to the Needs of the People

Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli convened with participation of a long list of witnesses from Ka Pae'āina (the Hawaiian Archipelago) as well as the witnesses representing other nations colonized by the United States.

The panel of judges consisted of nine distinguished international human rights authorities and jurists from all over the world. The judges were Milner S. Ball (Caldwell Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Georgia); Hyun-Kyung Chung (Ass. Prof. of Theology from Ehwa Women's University, Seoul, Korea); Ward Churchill (Creek/Cherokee Mētis, *Rapporteur*, Ass. Prof. of American Indian Studies at the University of Colorado at Boulder); Richard Falk (Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice, Fellow of the Center of International Studies at Princeton University); Lennox Hinds (Professor of Law at Rutgers University); Te Moana Nui A Kiwa Jackson (Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Porou Maori; Chair, Director of Maori Legal Service, Wellington, Aotearoa (New Zealand)); Asma Khader (Palestinian attorney, educator, journalist); Oda Makoto (Novelist and literary critic from Japan, member of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal); and Sharon Venne (Cree, lawyer and human rights advocate, Rockefeller Fellow on Indigenous Legal Systems).

The Tribunal was coordinated by Alejandro Molina (from the Puerto Rican independence movement and also the coordinator of the 1992 San Francisco International Tribunal) and convened by Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell (*kanaka maoli* leader). The Advocate Prosecutor Team consisted of Glenn Morris (Shawnee, director for the Fourth World Center for the Study of Indigenous Law and Politics at the University of Colorado at Denver); José Morin (Puerto Rican, executive director for the North Star Foundation in New York); and Maivan Clech Lâm (Vietnamese, City University of New York professor of Law). The Tribunal were attended by a big group of international observers and press people, not to mention the local audiences.

The judges heard 142 testimonies on nine charges by the *kānaka maoli* against the U.S. government in seven days on five different islands. Prior to the Tribunal the charges were delivered to representatives for the United Nations and to the U.S. president, as well as the Hawaiian Governor. The federal and state authorities chose not to respond, and hence were tried *in absentia.* Many more people wanted to testify than time allowed. Many turned in written testimonies and documentation without appearing in person before the judges, and some gave their testimony on videotapes.

As a peoples' international tribunal appertaining to international law and precedence, the basic set-up of the Tribunal were Western. But the planning committees at the same time tried in different ways to make the set-up comfortable and meaningful in a *kanaka maoli* cultural sense. One way was to let the Tribunal come to the people.

The prosecutor team, explained the purpose and power of a ruling of the People's International Tribunal for every hearing session. José Morin, for instance, said,

"What you have done here is to bring the judges to your community, [...] and that is very significant. It is very significant, because the judges now see for themselves, and hear for themselves, [...] your lives, your experience, your hardship, your pain. [...] I can't see these [People's International] Tribunals ever being conducted the same way again. So you have contributed something to the World, because there are tribunals that are conducted, of this nature, on a regular basis, and now we see developing tribunals that are going to be much more sensitive to the needs of the people who really suffer. Particularly as they pertain to indigenous people".

"We aim to take the facts, the evidence, the conclusions of this Tribunal [...] to use the information for purposes of trying to bring about change, to bring it out into the international community and [...] the people of the U.S., so that they can understand what has been going on here, what crimes have been committed by the U.S. government against the kanaka maoli people. But in addition, this is also an international struggle" (Speach at closing of Hāna hearing session, August 15).

August 20, at the Reorganized Makiki Church in Honolulu, saw the summation of the Advocate Counsel. The ever empty chair of the Defense Counsel gave its own silent message of embarrassment, complacency and indifference. After finalizing their deliberations, the judges presented the verdict, and a summary of general recognitions, findings, and recommendations. The following is an excerpt from their *Interim Report. Kanaka Maoli Nation, Plaintiff v. United States of America, Defendant* (Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli, The Peoples' International Tribunal, Hawai'i 1993. August 20, 1993). Copies of the full *Interim Report* and other information material can be obtained from the Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group (see list of addresses at the end of the Document).

Summary of General Recognitions, Findings and Recommendations

Having heard extensive and compelling testimony on the islands of O'ahu, Maui, Moloka'i, Kaua'i and Hawai'i from August 13-19, 1993, receiving voluminous documentary evidence in support and corroboration of the

testimonies, and having engaged in a number of site inspections during the same period, the Ka Ho'okolokolonui Kanaka Maoli (Peoples' International Tribunal Hawai'i 1993), has arrived at certain general recognitions and findings from which it is prepared to advance preliminary recommendations. It should be noted that a full report detailing and amplifying these results will be issued by the Tribunal within a period of six months.

Recognitions and Findings

The Tribunal finds that:

1. Between the years 1790 and 1826, the United States violated nā kānāwai (Kanaka Maoli law) through a series of actions inpuning the sovereignty of the lāhui Kanaka Maoli (Hawaiian people and nation). These actions also violated elements of customary international law, as well as the fundamental commitment of the United States, expressed in its own Declaration of Independence, to respect the inalienable rights of all people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

2. During the period 1826 to 1893, the United States accelerated its interventions in the internal affairs of lāhui Kanaka Maoli, abridging and impairing its sovereign functioning and right to self-determination. In addition to violations of nā kānāwai and customary law, these actions violated the terms of at least three ratified and binding treaties, the 1826 *Convention Between Commodore A.P. Catesby Jones of the United States and Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), King of the Hawaiian Islands,* the 1850 *Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation Between Kamehameha III and the United States of America,* and the 1875 *Treaty of Reciprocity Between The Hawaiian Islands and the United States of America.* Insofar as Article 6 of the United States Constitution declares ratified treaties to be the "Supreme Law of the Land," these latter violations represent a constitutional level breach of U.S. domestic law.

3. In 1893, the U.S. openly supported, both diplomatically and through deployment of military force, a coup d'état conducted by Western settlers against the legitimate government of lāhui Kanaka Maoli. Thereafter, for a period of five years, the U.S. openly supported the usurping regime by use of armed force against the indigenous population of Hawai'i. In 1898, the U.S. annexed Ka Pae'āina o Hawai'i (the Hawaiian Archipelago), neither obtaining the consent of nor even consulting the Kānaka Maoli. Self-evidently, these actions violated nā kānāwai in the most massive and fundamental ways. Violations of customary international law are reflected in the United Nations

Charter, Articles 1(1), 1(2), 1(3), 2(4), 55 and 73; the Charter of the Organization of the American State, Articles 17, 18, 19 and 20; the International Covenant on on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Article 1; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article I; and the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. Insofar as these actions were couched in terms denying the national sovereign status of lāhui Kanaka Maoli, they also represent an egregious breach of the treaty-making stipulations set forth under Article 1 of the United States Constitution. These stipulations prohibit the federal government from entering into treaty relations with any entity other than another fully sovereign nation.

4. Following annexation, the United States forcibly subordinated, degraded and systematically dispossessed the Kānaka Maoli. In 1959, utilizing the mechanism of an invalid plebiscite which denied Kānaka Maoli the right to express their will with regard to their political status and the disposition of their territory, the U.S. incorporated Hawai'i into the Union as a state. Aside from its continuing violation of nā kānāwai, this action contravened Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514, 14 December 1960).

5. Under provision of Article 20 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, it is unlawful for any nation to recognize claims to territory accruing in the manner described in number 3, above. In effect, all U.S. assertions of jurisdiction and property title in Ka Pae'Aina o Hawai'i are legally invalid. Lāhui Kanaka Maoli is entitled to be reinscribed on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories slated for decolonization under provision of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter.

6. Lāhui Kanaka Maoli sovereignty has not been extinguished by the illegal actions of the United States. The takeover of 1893 and purported annexation of 1898 merely changed the nature of the operative state, but did not remove the inherent right of the people to sovereignty.

7. The effective ability of Kānaka Maoli to assert their legitimate right to self-determination has been denied. The Kānaka Maoli are morally and legally entitled to reassert this right under provision of U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1514.

8. The federal government and government of the State of Hawai'i have imposed and maintained a "blood quantum" system of identification upon the Kānaka Maoli which is alien to their cultural traditions, which is socially and politically divisive, and which has worked to their economic

disadvantage. Blood quantum is ethnocidal, and is contrary to the virtual entirety of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

9. The Kānaka Maoli have been subjected to ongoing processes of genocide, both physical and cultural, at the hands of the U.S. government and the government of the state of Hawai'i, acting in concert with a range of commercial interests, since at least as early as 1850. The conduct of the federal and Hawai'i state governments violates nā kānāwai, as well as the 1948 Convention for Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Articles 2(a), 2(b), 2(c), 3(a), 3(b), 3(e).

10. The Kānaka Maoli have exhausted all existing peaceful avenues for rectifying the multiplicity of wrongs done to them. Consequently, they are entitled, on an urgent basis, to explore potentially more productive approaches, such as mediated negotiations with the U.S. Department of State.

Recommendations

The Tribunal Recommends that:

1. The U.S. and the world recognize the inherent sovereignty and right to self-determination of lāhui Kanaka Maoli under provision of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, among other elements of international law.

2. The U.S. and the world acknowledge the right of lāhui Kanaka Maoli to decolonization under provision of the United Nations Resolution 1514.

3. Kanaka Maoli lands, including all ceded lands, Hawaiian Home lands, and all other lands to which they have a claim, be returned to the control of lāhui Kanaka Maoli without delay. Land restoration should be construed as including restoration of water rights.

4. Jurisdiction over restored lands be transferred to lāhui Kanaka Maoli at the time of restoration.

5. Blood quantum standards of identification be immediately suspended. Lāhui Kanaka Maoli itself should determine the composition of its citizenry, free from external interference.

6. All other wrongs suffered by the Kānaka Maoli at the hands of the United States and its subsidiaries be rectified in a manner deemed satisfactory to the Kānaka Maoli themselves.

7. The United States, in negotiations and other interactions with lāhui Kanaka Maoli, observe the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as the minimum standards to be followed.

8. The United States immediately effect a valid ratification of, and adherence to, the 1948 Convention on Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide.

Inherent Right to Sovereignty

The Tribunal highlighted the United Nations' 1993 International Year for the World's Indigenous People in Hawai'i on the occasion of the centennial of the U.S. illegal armed invasion of the sovereign Hawaiian Nation.

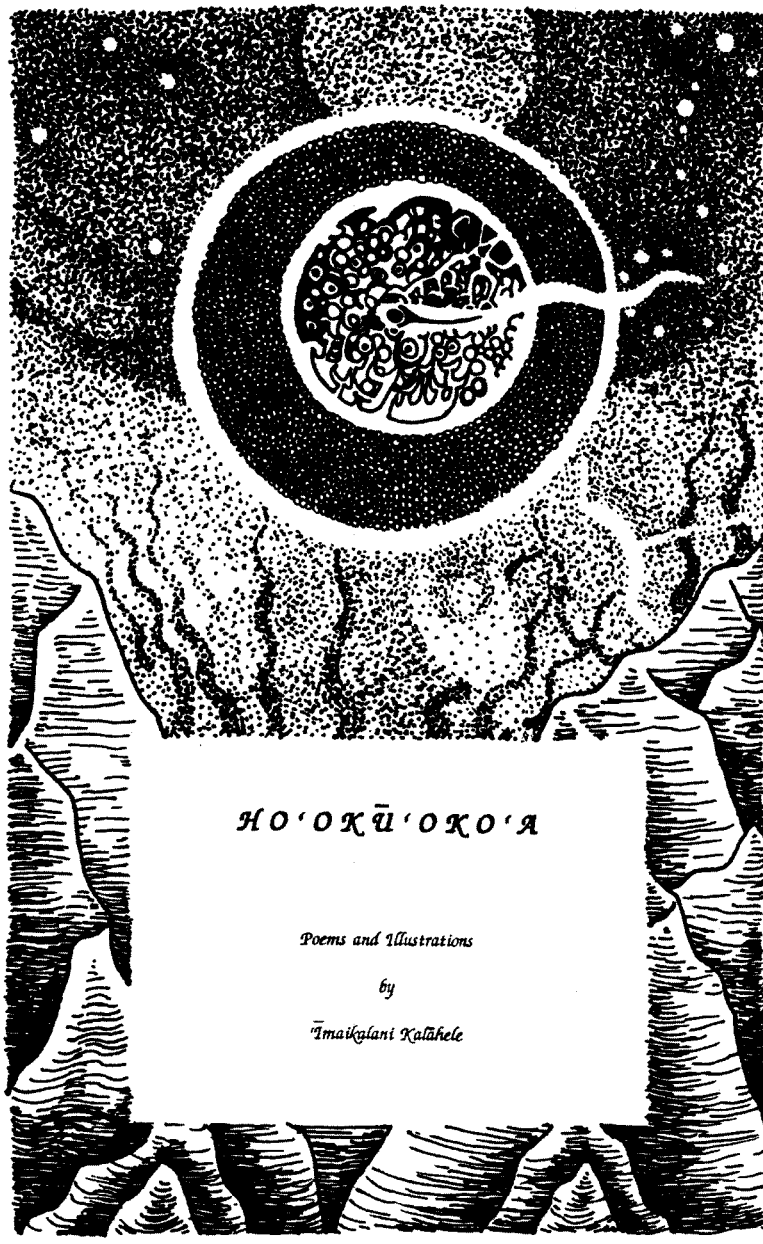
The final verdict from the Tribunal will be send to the U.N. Secretary General in New York, the Chairperson/*Rapporteur* of the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva, U.S. President, William J. Clinton, and to the Governor of Hawai'i, John Waihe'e.

This is only but the first step in a long process for the establishment of self-determination for *kānaka maoli*. When Kawaipuna Prejean first started working for the Tribunal in 1991, he said about self-determination:

"I think that it is very important that people remember that what we are talking about, as far as self-determination goes, doesn't mean a parcel of land that they are going to give us like charity. This is our inherent right to sovereignty, our inherent right to govern ourselves, in a manner we chose, without [...] interference" (1991).

Note

Based on work by Kekuni Blaisdell and Kihei Soli Niheu for the Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group and Ka Pākaukau. Compiled and updated by Ulla Hasager, International Observer representing IWGIA at the Tribunal. Transcripts of tribunal testimonies are available from Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, 3020 Kahaloa Drive, Honolulu, Hi 96822, (808) 988-6984: 6 vol-set US$300 (institutional price), US$175 (individuals).



Translation: Fusing the Disparate

Glossary of Hawaiian Terms

ʻaha	meeting, assembly, traditional ceremony
ʻahi	Hawaiian tuna fish
aho	cord, line
ahonui	patience; enduring; lit. great breath
ahupuaʻa	land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea
ʻai noa	free eating
ʻaikapu	traditional religion, to observe eating taboo
ʻāina	land, earth
akahai	modest, gentle, meek, kindness
akua	god, spirit, divine
ʻalā	dense waterworn volcanic stone used for utensils
aliʻi	chief(s), ruler, aristocrat
aliʻi nui	the high chiefs, human akua
aloha	love, affection, reciprocal love and generosity, sympathy, greeting
aloha ʻāina	love for the land
ʻāmama	finished, said at the ending of pre-Christian prayer
ʻamaʻu	ferns, genus of *Sadleria*, place where the ʻamaʻu ferns are found
ao	light, day, dawn, enlightened
ʻāpaʻa	dry area, arid; land one has lived on for a long time (affectionate)
ʻaumakua	family or personal gods, deified ancestors (pl. ʻaumākua)
E ola hou ke Ea o ka Lāhui	May the sovereignty of the nation be restored once again
Hawaiʻi ea	life, sovereignty, political independence, mana to control the Heavens and the Earth
haʻahaʻa	humble, modest; humility
hāhā	palpitation
haka	terraced platforms
hala	the pandanus or screw pine
hale	house, building
hālau	long house, for example for hula instruction
hānai	to feed, raise, protect, duty and love of elders, foster child
Hānaipū	ceremony to welcome Lono
haole	White person, Caucasian, foreigner, "breathless"
hapa Kanaka Maoli	Part-Hawaiian
Hawaiʻi nei	this (beloved) Hawaiʻi
heiau	temple, religious site
hiki	to accomplish

ho'iho'i hou	to return, send back, restore again
ho'oka'awale	to separate
ho'okū'oko'a	to establish independence
ho'okupu	tribute, tax, ceremonial gift-giving to a chief as a sign of honor and respect
ho'omalu	to feed and raise
ho'opāpā	rituals of debate
ho'oponopono	to make right, mental cleansing, as by family discussion
hui	association, club, partnership, to unite, to join
hula	the hula, a hula dancer, to dance the hula
i'a	fish or any marine animal
'ili	smaller land section
Ka Po'e Hawai'i	Indigenous Hawaiians
Ka Pae'āina	The Hawaiian Archipelago
kāhea	calling for a response, greet
kahuna	priest, professional, healer, magician (pl. kāhuna)
kahuna nui	high priest
kahunapule	priest, pastor, Calvinist
kālai'āina	political, politics, lit.: land carving
kālaimoku	counsellor, prime minister, principal konohiki
kalo	taro
kalokalo	supplication, conversational prayer to the gods
kalo lau	taro leaf
kamali'i	offspring, children
kanaka maoli	Native Hawaiians (pl. kānaka maoli)
kapu	sacred law, taboo, prohibition, special privilige, sacred
kauila	native tree in the buckthorn family
kino	laumany forms, taken by a supernatural body
ko'a	fishing shrine
koholā	humpback whales
kono	to invite, entice
konohiki	subordinate ali'i, responsible for irrigation and the organization of the labor on land and in fishponds
kua'āina	country (rural), person from the country
kua'ana	elder sibling (term of address)
kū'ē	to oppose, confrontation, chants of challenge
kula	open country, plain, dryland
kuleana	right, privilege, concern, responsibility, ownership, tenure, small piece of property, as within an ahupua'a
Kumulipo	Hawaiian creation chant, origin, genesis, source of life, mystery
kūpa'a 'āina	hold fast to the land

kupuna	grandparent, ancestor, wise elder (pl. kūpuna)
kū'ula	any stone god used to attract fish; an open alter near the sea for worship of fish gods
Lā Ho'iho'i Ea	Return of Sovereignty Day
lā'au	medicine, medical herbs
lāhui	nation, race, tribe, people, nationality
lauhala	pandanus leaf, especially used for plaiting
lei	wreath, necklace of flowers, leaves, pearls
lili	chagrin
lo'i	pondfields, irrigated terraces
loko i'a	fishpond
lōkahi	unity, agreement, harmony
lomilomi	massage
lū	to drip, as water
lua	habitation, shelter caves
lū'au	young taro tops, feast
mahalo	thank you; gratitude;
māhele	division; Māhele: land division 1848
ma'i	disease, sickness; sick person
maka'āinana	commoner, people in general
Makahiki	year, traditional festival
makai	towards the sea, on the seaside
mākua	parents, adults
mālama	(responsibility to) take of, tend, care for, preserve, protect, honoring and serving elders and the land
malo	male's loincloth
mamo	descendant, posterity, succeeding generations
mana	supernatural or divine power, energy, support
mauka	inland, upland, towards the mountain
moana nui	big ocean
mō'ī	ruler, king, queen, sovereign, the supreme high chief
mōhai	sacrifice, offering; to sacrifice, to offer
mo'o	lizard, reptile of any kind, water spirit
'ohana	extended family, kin group
ola	life, health, well-being, individual physical existence
ola hou	revive, new life, Christian message
'olu'olu	cool; pleasant; courteous; agreeable
one hānau	birthsands, birthplace, homeland
ono	large mackerel type fish (wahoo)
'ō'ō	digging stick
'opae'ula	small brackish water dwelling red shrimp
'ōpelu	mackerel scad
pa'a	firmly bound
pa'i 'ai	hard pounded undiluted taro

pali	cliff
Pālua	double, twice, dualism
Pehea lā e *pono ai*?	How shall we be pono?
piha Kanaka Maoli	pure Hawaiian
pili	grass, used for thatching
Pō	Deep Darkness, the Beginning
pō'ele	the deep dark night
pōhaku	rock, stone
poi	the Hawaiian staff of life, made from cooked taro corms, pounded and thinned with water
pono	proper order, harmony, goodness, correct behavior (see the chapter: Ua Mau Ke Ea O Ka 'āina I Ka Pono)
pua	flower
pu'uhonua	place of refuge, place of peace and safety
ti	(kī) *Cordyline terminalis*, a woody plant in the lily family
tūtū	(kūkū) relative of grandparent's generation
'ulu	breadfruit, breadfruit tree
ulu	to grow, increase, spread
waha	mouth, to talk to much, carry on the back
wahi pana	celebrated, sacred, or legendary place
waiea	the water of life, essence of sovereignty
wahine	woman
wao kele	rain belt, inland region, usually not precipitous and often uninhabited, lowland tropical rainforest
wauke	the paper mulberry, bark used for tapa

The glossary is compiled from Pukui & Elbert (1986) and information from the authors.

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